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ABSTRACT

An Open University course text, People in Cities--An Ecological Approach (Block 3), is presented. Three sections of the block are: the ecology of urban life, socialization and some implications for the urban child, and the compensatory debate. Some of the adaptive processes and ways in which failures of adaptation are distributed in different areas of the city are examined. A theoretical approach to the study of behavior settings is applied, and the validity of predictions from this theoretical model, and their applications to the organization and size of schools, are considered. Three films that illustrate the niche of several families in Nottingham are also discussed. The section on socialization and the urban child draws on both British and American material and focuses on preschool and early school age children. The third section links ideas in the previous parts of the block and examines in psychological terms the much-disputed issue of compensatory education. The block includes study activities, suggested answers to activities, references, and three reading selections by Edgar H. Auerswald, R. G. Barker, and A. Harry Passow. (SW)

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People in Cities: An Ecological Approach

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The Open University
Educational Studies: A Third Level Course
Urban Education Block 3

Block 3

People in Cities: An Ecological Approach

Prepared by John Oates for the Course Team

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The author

John Oates, Lecturer in Educational Studies, graduated in psychology from Brunel University. He worked as Research Fellow at the Royal College of Art for three years on a variety of design projects, including one sponsored by the Nuffield Foundation concerned with play equipment for handicapped children. He then spent a year working on the design of computer-aided learning systems before joining The Open University. He has previously worked on the Open University courses, *Language and Learning* (E262) and *The Curriculum: Context, Design and Development* (E283).

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Objectives for Block 3

The general objective of the block is to consider the complex relationships between the urban environment and the lives of its inhabitants, and to develop an ecological approach to describing these relationships and their relevance to urban education.

Part 1

At the end of this part of the block, you should be able to:

- 1 Outline some of the adaptive processes of urban life.
- 2 Examine the validity of the Park and Burgess model of urban growth.
- 3 Develop the concept of the behaviour setting as an ecological unit.
- 4 Examine the attributes and dynamics of behaviour settings.
- 5 Consider the effects of population levels on the operations of settings and their inhabitants.
- 6 Relate the theoretical predictions of (5) above to school size and organization.
- 7 Relate behaviour settings to child development in urban areas.
- 8 Describe Nottingham's history and present pattern.
- 9 Describe educational provision in Nottingham.
- 10 Describe the schools, estates and families featured in the three television programmes associated with Block 3.

Part 2

At the end of this part of the block, you should be able to:

- 1 Evaluate the effects on socialization of the various groups and settings in the child's niche.
- 2 Appreciate the age-related changes in groups and settings in the child's niche as it develops.
- 3 Outline the processes of social learning.
- 4 Appreciate the importance of early childhood in social learning.
- 5 Consider the effects of the urban environment on socialization.
- 6 Draw out some implications of (5) above for urban schools.

Part 3

At the end of this part of the block, you should be able to:

- 1 Examine critically some of the concepts underlying compensatory programmes.
- 2 Evaluate 'position papers' in the area of compensatory education, and develop your own position.
- 3 Consider some of the reasons why compensatory programmes do not succeed in achieving their aims.
- 4 Suggest new directions of intervention.

Note on reading for Block 3

The following readings should be undertaken in connection with this block, having read the specific notes on reading at the beginning of each part of the block.

Part 1

Set reading

BATESON, GREGORY 'Ecology and flexibility in urban civilization' (Supplementary Material for Block 3).

WRIGHT, HERBERT F. 'Urban space as seen by children of school age' (Supplementary Material for Block 3).

Part 2

Set reading

NEWSON, JOHN and NEWSON, ELIZABETH (1963) *Patterns of Infant Care in an Urban Community*, Allen and Unwin (set book), Chapter 4.

COLEMAN, JAMES 'How do the young become adults?' in Reader 1 (pp. 194-204).

Part 3

Set reading

Interview with Professor Herbert Ginsburg, 'The assessment of ability' (Supplementary Material for Block 3).

FERGUSON, NEIL, DAVIES, PATRICIA, EVANS, ROY and WILLIAMS, PHILLIP 'The Plowden Report's recommendations for identifying children in need of extra help' in Reader 1 (pp. 224-31).

DEUTSCH, MARTIN 'The disadvantaged child and the learning process' in Reader 1 (pp. 210-15).

REISSMAN, FRANK 'The culturally deprived child' in Reader 1 (pp. 205-9).

FANTINI, MARIO D. and WEINSTEIN, GERALD 'Who are the disadvantaged?' in Reader 1 (pp. 216-23).

EISENBERG, LEON 'Strengths of the inner city child' in Reader 1 (pp. 245-55).

FRIEDMAN, NORMAN L. 'Cultural deprivation: a commentary in the sociology of knowledge' in Reader 1 (pp. 256-70).

KARNES, MERLE B., STUDLEY, WILLIAM M., WRIGHT, WILLIS R. and HODGINS, AUDREY S. 'An approach for working with mothers of disadvantaged pre-school children' in Reader 1 (pp. 232-44).

Recommended reading

HALSEY, A. H. (ed.) (1972) *Educational Priority*, Vol. 1, HMSO (set book), Chapters 1 and 2.

DAVIES, RONALD, BUTLER, NEVILLE and GOLDSTEIN, HARVEY (1972) *From Birth to Seven*, Longman (set book) Sections 3 and 10.

Note The Readers for the course are:

RAYNOR, JOHN and HARDEN, JANE (eds) (1973) *Cities, Communities and the Young: Readings in Urban Education*, Vol. 1 (referred to as Reader 1) and *Equality and City Schools: Readings in Urban Education*, Vol. 2 (referred to as Reader 2), Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with The Open University.

Block structure diagram

Activities		Readings			Broadcasts	
	Correspondence Text	Readers	Set books	Supplementary Reading	Radio	Television
	Part 1 Sections					
	1			Bateson		
Activity 1	2					
Activities 2-4	3					
Activities 5-9	4					
	5			Wright		
	6				Radio 5	Television 4
	7				Radio 6	Television 5
	8				Radio 7	Television 6
	Part 2 Sections					
	1	Coleman I	Newson & Newson			
	2					
	3					
	4					
Activity	5					
	6					
	7					
	8					
	9					
	10					
	Part 3 Sections					
	1	Ferguson <i>et al.</i>		Ginsburg interview		
Activity	2	Deutsch				
	3	Reissman				
	4	Fantini & Weinstein				
	5	Eisenberg				
	6	Friedman				
	7	Karnes <i>et al.</i>				

Notes on timing for Block 3

This block has been designed to occupy 40 hours of study time. Given below is a list of the various components of the block with an indication of the difficulty of each written component based on one of three gradings: easy, moderate, or difficult. Also shown is an estimated time for a single 'read-through' of each component arrived at by combining the difficulty rating with a word count. The difficulty rating is an estimate on the part of the author, backed in many cases by information gained from the developmental testing of the material. However, the level of difficulty will obviously vary, depending on previous knowledge of the terminology and the arguments.

Correspondence text	Estimated level of difficulty*	Estimated 'read-through' time
Introduction to Block 3	2	15 minutes
Part 1	2	7 hours
Part 2	2	2 hours
Part 3	2	3 hours 20 minutes
		Total: 12 hours 45 minutes

Readings

Part 1: Bateson (Supplementary Material)	1	20 minutes
Wright (Supplementary Material)	2	1 hour 40 minutes
Part 2: Newson and Newson, Part 1,		
Chapter 4 (set book)	2	2 hours
Coleman I (Reader 1)	1	20 minutes
Part 3: Ginsburg (Supplementary Material)	1	20 minutes
Ferguson <i>et al.</i> (Reader 1)	2	30 minutes
Deutsch (Reader 1)	1	15 minutes
Reissman (Reader 1)	2	15 minutes
Fantini & Weinstein (Reader 1)	1	20 minutes
Eisenberg (Reader 1)	1	20 minutes
Friedman (Reader 1)	2	50 minutes
Karnes <i>et al.</i> (Reader 1)	2	45 minutes
		Total: 7 hours 55 minutes

*Difficulty levels: (1) easy; (2) moderate; (3) difficult.

The times shown above are minimums for you to read through all parts of the block and the set reading. There is spare time in the total allocated for this block for you to distribute according to a study strategy determined by your own needs and interests. For activities and the tutor-marked assignment, recommended times are given below. On the activities and assessment, you could spend many hours to the detriment of your study of the block, so we suggest that you try to limit yourself to these times, unless you find yourself with additional unbudgeted time.

Activities and assessment

	Recommended time
Part 1: Activity 1	15 minutes
Activity 2	15 minutes
Activity 3	10 minutes
Activity 4	15 minutes
Activity 5	10 minutes
Activity 6	10 minutes
Activity 7	15 minutes
Activity 8	1 hour
Activity 9	30 minutes
Part 2: Activity	5 minutes
Part 3: Activity	20 minutes
Total: 3 hours 25 minutes	
TMA 02	5 hours
Total recommended time for activities and assessment	8 hours 25 minutes

Broadcast materials

As with activities and assessment, given below are recommended times to be spent on reading programme notes and viewing or listening to broadcasts.

Broadcasts plus accompanying notes and activities	Recommended time
Radio Programme 5	25 minutes
Radio Programme 6	25 minutes
Radio Programme 7	25 minutes
Television Programme 4	30 minutes
Television Programme 5	30 minutes
Television Programme 6	30 minutes
Total: 2 hours 45 minutes	

The total minimum time to read through once all parts of the block, do the activities, prepare the tutor-marked assignment and work on the broadcast materials is therefore 31 hours 40 minutes. The remaining 8 hours 20 minutes of study time out of the allocation for this block are for distribution according to your needs and interests.

Introduction to Block 3

This block sets out to consider life in cities as an ecological process; cities are, by analogy, compared to other environment-organism complexes such as are studied in the biological and allied sciences. One of the main reasons why this approach has been chosen, rather than any other, is that in studying a topic such as the city, and its relationships with the education of individuals, theoretical formulations of human behaviour that take account of the environment as an integral part are thin on the ground. It is primarily in the field of 'human ecology', as the discipline has come to be known, that this problem has been tackled.

Human ecology is a relatively new subject and many of its insights are as yet tentative: the main value of its contribution is in setting up a conceptual framework and outlining some of the principles of the dynamics of human behaviour in relation to the environment. Before going on to begin to elaborate this framework and suggest principles, I would like to discuss briefly the differences between this approach and other, more traditional, methodologies.

Ecology and psychology

Ecology is the study of the inter-relationships between organisms and their natural environment; both the environment and the organisms in it present inputs and outputs to each other. For example, in the ecological structure of a copse, the soil provides an input to the vegetation of essential chemicals, and the vegetation provides an input to the soil of dead leaves and other detritus. In this cycle, one of many interrelated in the copse, what is an output of one system is an input to another: these various systems are adaptively matched to each other's input-output characteristics.

In addition to these chemico-physical dependencies, there exists a level of behavioural adaptation. Different animal species have characteristic habitats¹ and their behaviour is adapted to these habitats. The earthworm, whose habitat is the upper layers of the soil, shows behaviour patterns of burrowing, eating, surfacing and so forth which reflect its adaptive match to the conditions of this habitat. Similarly, its physical structure is adapted to soil life. Note that the soil shares these dependencies: not only does the earthworm rely on the soil for the maintenance of its biological and behavioural patterns, but the soil also relies in turn on the earthworm to maintain its textural and chemical integrity.

Biologists know that a knowledge of organisms is seriously restricted in the absence of a consideration of the natural environment in which the organisms live. The same can be said to be true of human behaviour, which is an individual-environment transaction in an analogous sense to that in which vegetation shares mutual dependencies with the soil, the atmosphere and so on. Much of what people do in their everyday lives is part of this process of adaptation to the habitat, and it is from this principle that an ecological approach to psychological study is derived.

Psychology occupies an unusual position in relation to other sciences. Chemists know the laws governing the interaction of hydrogen and oxygen, and they know the relative distribution of these elements in the environment. Natural history studies supply basic data for the theories and applications of biology, and geological science is based primarily on a first-hand examination of what

¹The characteristic habitat of an organism is also often called its *ecological niche*.

it finds in nature. Psychology, however, seems to stand alone in lacking such a substantive naturalistic and descriptive framework. It has been, historically, an experimental science. Indeed, the beginnings of psychology, as science, are taken to be coincident with the first laboratory of Wundt in Leipzig in 1897 and the inception of Fechner's 'psycho-physics'.

Experimental work leads to the production of if-then statements:

If a one-inch red cube is placed on a table in front of an eight-month-old infant, then he will attempt to grasp the cube.¹

If the same response that eliminates the traumatic stimulus will also, when made anticipatorily, eliminate the premonitory warning and the attendant fear, then the so-called conditioned and unconditioned responses will be more or less identical.²

If subjects are induced to cheat in an experiment and later interviewed, then they will show less eye-contact.³

Psychology has amassed a body of knowledge of how people behave in clinical and experimental conditions, but knows little about the distribution or validity of these conditions, and their consequences, outside the laboratory or clinic.

Molecular and molar study

Experiments can tell us, with clarity, what will happen if certain conditions for behaviour occur. If individuals are frustrated, rewarded or stimulated in specified ways, then they may be confidently expected to behave in equally well specified ways, and it is this sort of study that is carried out in the psychological laboratory. There, the experimenter *controls* the environment and looks for behaviour correlates. The examples given above reflect the constancies found under such conditions.

Classical laboratory study typically adopts a *reductionist* or *molecular* viewpoint. For example, behaviourism seeks to work with the smallest viable units – the stimulus and the response. Behaviourism then progresses on the study of the types of stimulus/response relationships and their environmental correlates. From this basis, more complex forms of behaviour, as for example those that occur outside the laboratory, are explained in terms of a reduction to the basic, molecular processes.

In contrast, a naturalistic approach views the subject from a more *molar* standpoint. Thus, to the psychologist who is concerned with understanding the processes of everyday, extra-laboratory life, behaviour is not *primarily* an assembly of simple habits, but a set of patterns, which can only be understood in the context to which they are ecologically related.

The prime focus of an ecological approach in psychology, then, is the 'natural' habitat in which individuals transact their lives: the shops, schools, offices and entertainments of the environment. It may seem somehow to distort the word 'natural' in using it to include what are basically man-made entities: in contrast, the field, the river and the copse would appear to be obviously 'natural' environments. However, in Great Britain at least, most (if not all) of the rural environment with which behaviour is transacted is as much a product of man's

¹Halverson (1943).

²Mowrer and Lamosaux (1946).

³Exline *et al.* (1961).

structuring of the environment as the inner-city areas: fields are not 'pre-human ecological units', neither are hedges, woods and so on. Rather than asserting a clear natural-artificial dichotomy of the environment, it makes more sense to identify a continuum: from wild, uncultivated, uncivilized environment, such as is rarely seen in this country, to the wholly constructed urban areas. In an ecological approach to human behaviour, the word 'natural' is used in a rather special sense, to refer to settings which are uninfluenced by the intervention of experimental devices. Thus, under this definition, a classroom is man-made and natural, given that it is functioning in its normal way, and not for the purposes of experimentation.

With its emphasis on setting up and adjusting experimental environments, psychology as a science has to some extent neglected the importance of the structure and constraints of natural settings, and their relationship to the behaviour of individuals (Sells, 1966).

Laboratory behaviour to natural behaviour

One of the basic characteristics of the ecological environment of the individual is that it has intrinsic structure; it has elements, and relations (dependencies) between them and with the individual. This structure is not made visible by observing a single element, such as the third pupil in the second row, and his transactions with various elements in the environment such as paper, pencil, books, desk and so on, nor by considering each part separately. To do so is a reductionist task which will not reveal structure at the molar level, for to deal with a natural setting purely in terms of parts is to destroy the structure which is the focus of observation (Kantor, 1959). A comparable example from the physical sciences is the difference between X-ray and chemical analysis of a crystal. The chemical, reductionist approach yields information at the molecular level, while the X-ray approach yields molar information.

A primary concern of geologists, oceanographers, cytologists, mineralogists, geneticists and astronomers is precisely with the naturally occurring, unarranged structure of things: from chromosomes to the solar system and beyond. So it is important for psychology to discover tender-minded, non-destructive techniques for preserving intact naturally occurring behavior and its ecological environment.

Barker, R. G. (1968) p. 10.

There are two important criticisms of the validity of generalizing from psychological studies carried out in an experimental situation to natural behaviour. The first of these is centred on the so-called 'iatrogenic' effect on experimental results. The second criticism is related to the structure of behaviour observed naturally as compared to the structure of behaviour which is experimentally produced.

Iatrogenic influences on laboratory results arise from the expression of an experimenter's theory and hypotheses in the particular experimental design and procedure he chooses to use (Kintz *et al.*, 1965). In experimental studies of behaviour, the observed effects and causalities may in many cases be a function of the experimental situation itself, and not necessarily of the variables which the experimenter sets out to modify systematically.

In a set of experiments (Miller and Form, 1964) carried out in the Hawthorne Works of the General Electric Company in Chicago, two groups of employees were selected to participate in an experiment studying the relationship between efficiency and lighting level. In the control group, the illumination was left

unchanged, and in the experimental group, the illumination was raised. As expected, the production of the experimental group increased ('If lighting is improved, then efficiency increases') but, disturbingly to the experimenters, so did that of the control group. The experimenters then reduced the level of illumination for this group. When this had been done, production once again rose noticeably.

Thus, while the psychologists concerned believed that they had only manipulated one variable - lighting level - they had introduced a more potent, and then unknown, factor. It is this factor, the iatrogenic, that pervades any laboratory study of the environment-behaviour constancies of individuals. While this factor is now recognized, doubts must still remain concerning the generalization of laboratory results to natural behaviour.

A number of studies have investigated the relationship between frustration as studied in the laboratory and frustration as it occurs in everyday life. The consequences of frustration, experimentally induced in the laboratory, are typically for subjects to show regressive behaviour (Barker, Dembo and Levin, 1941). When observational records of children's behaviour in natural surroundings were studied (Fawl, 1963), the occurrence of frustration did not in general have the same consequences:

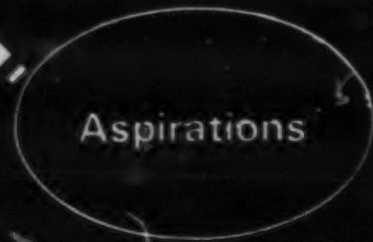
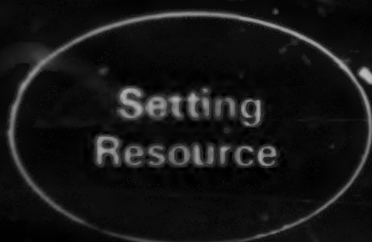
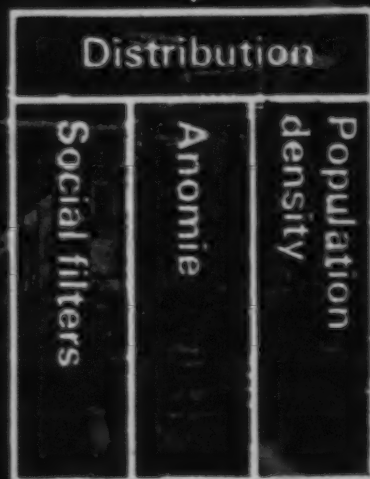
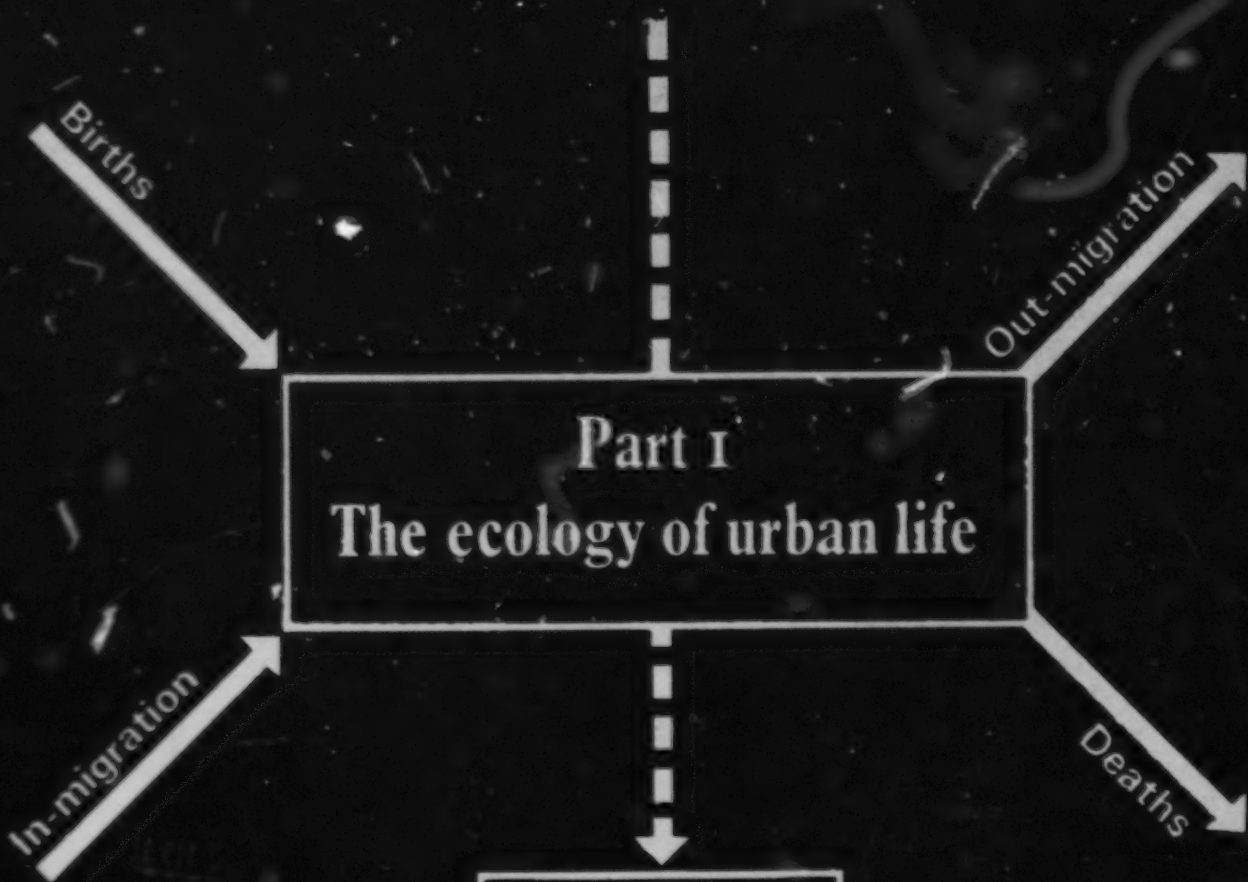
The results of the study were surprising in two respects. First, even with a liberal interpretation of blockage, fewer blocked goals were detected than we expected. . . . Second, frustration defined as goal blockage usually failed to produce an apparent state of disturbance on the part of the child. Meaningful relationships could not be found between blockage . . . and consequent behaviors such as aggression, regression . . . and other theoretically relevant behavioral manifestations.

Fawl, Clifford L. (1963) p. 99.

The structure of behaviour as it is produced in the experimental situation is typically 'single stranded': the subject has a given goal to achieve and his behaviour focuses on that goal. While he is an 'experimental subject', he is divorced from the complex of goals that structure natural behaviour. In addition, in an experiment, the experimenter typically knows what the units of behaviour, on which he will base his measurements, are to be. In a learning experiment, for instance, these units may be 'trials to completion', 'correct responses' or 'number of errors'.

When naturally occurring behaviour is observed, however, the simple, single-sequence model of behaviour does not find confirmation. Rather, behaviour consists of sets of behaviour episodes which characteristically overlap and interlink. Wright (1967) distinguishes three major patterns: coinciding, enclosing-enclosed and interlinked.

It is in this complex of activity that environmental factors play an important role: they structure and constrain behaviour. Seen in this way, the psychological environment of an individual, his ecological niche, consists not only in the physical structures and forces operating on him, but also in the socio-cultural structures and forces. The natural environment of a shop includes both the building, its displays, stocks and counters, and its shop assistants, managers and customers.



Note on reading for Part 1

This part of Block 3 has two pieces of set reading in addition to the correspondence text, both of which are printed as offprints in the Supplementary Material for the block. It is suggested that you read the paper by Gregory Bateson at some stage early in your work on this part, and the paper by Herbert F. Wright when it is referred to at the end of Section 5. It is also suggested that you read Sections 6 to 8 of the correspondence text before viewing Television Programme 4.

Set reading

BATESON, GREGORY 'Ecology and flexibility in urban civilization' (Supplementary Material for Block 3).

WRIGHT, HERBERT F. 'Urban space as seen by children of school age' (Supplementary Material for Block 3).

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Objectives for Part 1

At the end of this part of the block, you should be able to:

- 1 Outline some of the adaptive processes of urban life.
- 2 Examine the validity of the Park and Burgess model of urban growth.
- 3 Develop the concept of the behaviour setting as an ecological unit.
- 4 Examine the attributes and dynamics of behaviour settings.
- 5 Consider the effects of population levels on the operations of settings and their inhabitants.
- 6 Relate the theoretical predictions of (5) above to school size and organization.
- 7 Relate behaviour settings to child development in urban areas.
- 8 Describe Nottingham's history and present pattern.
- 9 Describe educational provision in Nottingham.
- 10 Describe the schools, estates and families featured in the three television programmes associated with Block 3.

1 Introduction

- 1.1 Perhaps the most basic characteristic of living organisms lies in their ability to feed and repair themselves, to reproduce and to adjust to external influences. These abilities depend on complex interdependencies within their structure, between the separate parts. What affects one part has consequent effects on every other part: each organism is a complex system, and is dependent on its environment for a variety of essential inputs. The study of the interactions between organisms and their environments is the central concern of ecology, and the total structure in which environment and organisms interrelate is the *ecosystem*.
- 1.2 Natural ecosystems show a stability over time; they exhibit *homeostasis*, the ability to respond to disruption in a protective way so that their natural balance is restored. This ability is a consequence of processes of *adaptation*. The parts of the environment that an individual organism is coupled with are called the *ecological niche* of that organism. An individual person, living in a city, forms part of the ecosystem and will adapt to the characteristics of his particular niche in that city.
- 1.3 The first sections of this part of the block examine some of these adaptive processes, and the ways in which failures of adaptation – deviance and stress reactions such as mental illness – are distributed in different 'natural areas' of the city. The following sections apply a theoretical approach to the study of behaviour settings: miniature ecosystems within the global one of the city. These are the natural units of the ecological environment of individuals. Section 5 examines the validity of predictions from this theoretical model, and their applications to the organization and size of schools.
- 1.4 In the text, the basic approach reflects a concern for the study of life as it goes on from day to day in the city, and the ways in which individuals relate to their environment and are in turn coerced by it into patterns of behaviour. The text is also concerned with those acts which constitute a failure in adaptation: delinquency, mental illness and suicide, and the complex problems of relating these to corresponding features of the urban environment. The Chicago ecologists' theory of urban growth is examined in relation to a range of studies in Great Britain and the United States of the distribution of these failures of adaptation across the city.
- 1.5 The theory underlying contemporary work in the field of one particularly well developed ecological approach to psychology is presented in Sections 4 and 5 of the text. It is concerned with elaborating the concept of behaviour settings as being the ecological units within which most individuals live their daily lives, and develops a model of the dynamics of those settings. The effect of organized size and population density on settings and their corresponding influences on individual behaviour are predicted from this theoretical model, and related to a set of naturalistic studies carried out in schools to examine these predictions. The results support an often voiced concern that increases in school size produce, per se, detrimental effects on individual students' behaviour and educational performance.

2 An ecological approach to 'problems'

- 2.1 If a child, in school or any other institution, is labelled as a 'problem' child, this problem does not have any objective validity of itself, but rather in relation to the ideology of the person or persons who define and point to the 'problem'. The problem individual is in a state of mismatch with the particular system concerned. In coming to an understanding of problems, then, I am suggesting that it is important to step outside the situation and consider the nature of this mismatch.
- 2.2 To adopt an ecological approach is to move away from locating a problem, whatever it might be, *within* the individual or group concerned, towards locating it in the interface between the problem area and the broader system which contains it. To give a concrete example of this, one might point to the problems of the schooling of immigrant children. These children, if they are presumed to be functioning adequately within their own ethnic community, are not defined as problematical. Their satisfactory functioning is supported by a shared language, shared values and norms of behaviour into which they have been socialized. Where then does the problem lie? In school, the educability of these children is initially low: their linguistic and cultural background does not match with the implicit expectations of the school. The school expects conversation to flow and a certain degree of consensus to exist, both normatively, as in styles of dress and behaviour, and evaluatively, as in taking educational attainment as implicitly valued.
- 2.3 Clearly, then, the 'problem' at issue is one of mismatch between two systems that were functioning adequately before one (the school) was faced with incorporating the other (the immigrant). At this point, you might like to consider, in systems terms, how this difficulty might be resolved. The problem is not unlike that of having an engine of one make and a carburettor of another, and trying to get this hybrid system to run. Three simple alternatives exist: (1) to reject the carburettor and get one of the right sort; (2) to reject the engine and get one that matches the carburettor; (3) to make up a linking piece that will join the two. This rather simple example obviously has certain links with the educational problem previously outlined.

Activity 1 Immigrant schooling

What would be the consequences for immigrant schooling of the three alternative approaches to a mismatch problem (1), (2), and (3) outlined above?

Allow about 15 minutes on this work.

Compare your answers with the suggested answers on p. 95.

- 2.4 Two general questions which may be asked of any problem-solving approach is who defines the problem, and how do their strategies relate to their positions as problem-definers. Reading A – an extract from a paper by a consultant psychiatrist – which follows this section, explores the relationships between the differing viewpoints of a range of problem-definers as exemplified in the case of a 'problem' child. It shows clearly how the school, the child's family, the psychiatric service and a social work agency had developed their own definition of this child's problem, within their own frameworks and with correspondingly widely divergent 'diagnoses'. The author of this paper suggests that the shift in viewpoint that an ecological approach involves is more likely to be satisfactory in solving this type of problem.
- 2.5 The labels 'ecology' and 'ecological approach', as used here, should not be considered as representing a single, unified branch of social science, but rather as adumbrating a range of methodologies which, however, share certain common characteristics. Firstly, they reflect a concern that behaviour must necessarily be studied in naturalistic settings as a complement to its study in contrived laboratory settings. Secondly, they share in common a concern with the systematic aspects of social behaviour.
- 2.6 As society maintains itself, and develops, it has the character of a system which has both homeostatic (stable) and unstable possibilities. In its parts, as well as its whole, it is able to a greater or lesser extent to adapt and accommodate itself to a variety of disturbances and changing conditions. When it is able to accommodate disturbances by operating within its repertoire of actions, then it is behaving homeostatically; when it develops novel actions, then it becomes evolutionary or revolutionary.
- 2.7 This particular way of viewing behavioural complexes owes much to the related fields of cybernetics and general systems theory, and students who wish to pursue this line of study would be well advised to read *An Introduction to Cybernetics* (Ross Ashby, 1964) for a readable introduction to the main concepts of cybernetics such as feedback, adaptation, homeostasis and evolution.

- 2.8 Two other points concerning the application of these concepts in the social sciences are worth mentioning here. The first point is that their application in the biological sciences deals with readily quantifiable transfers of matter and energy between organisms and their habitat. The application of the concepts to social science is beset with the pitfall of the 'organismic fallacy': when using ecological concepts, one is not saying that society, a school or a classroom is an organism but rather that it is *like* an organism in certain respects. When using this approach in the social sciences, one is less able to identify and quantify the particular mass/energy transactions that are in operation, and in addition, one is dealing in less easily quantified input-output relations.
- 2.9 Thus, much of the work carried out in studying 'urban ecology' is heterogeneous: concepts are used in varying ways and in different contexts, and the categorizations of the elements of the systems – and indeed the delimiting of the systems themselves – are not always uniform. For example, the concept of community has been operationalized in many differing ways by different people, and you will come across some of these differing definitions in this course.
- 2.10 The second point regarding the use of ecology as a theoretical framework is that for many people it is synonymous with pollution, over-population and so forth. I have seen a car sticker which shows the international peace symbol, the American flag and a caption of ECOLOGY NOW! Whatever the conjunction of these three elements means I leave to your imagination, but the popular view of ecology as basically conservationist and anti-pollution is really inappropriate to the variety of ecological approaches explored in this block.

Reading A 'Interdisciplinary versus ecological approach'¹ – Edgar H. Auerswald²

In the story I wish to tell, two therapists, one a 'systems' thinker, the other a member of an 'interdisciplinary' team, became involved in the case of a runaway girl.

To give you some initial background, I should explain that I have been involved in designing and implementing a 'Neighborhood Health Services System' for provision of comprehensive biopsychosocial care to a so-called 'disadvantaged' community. The main aim in setting up this unit was to find ways to avoid the fragmentation of service delivery which occurs when a person's problem is defined as belonging primarily to himself, and he is sent to a specialist who is trained to deal primarily with that type of problem. The specialist naturally sees the problem not only as an individual matter, but defines it still further according to the professional sector he inhabits. He is not accustomed to looking at the total set of systems surrounding the individual with the symptom or to noticing the ways in which the symptom, the person, his family, and his community interlock, and he is often in the position of a man desperately trying to replace a fuse when it is the entire community power line that has broken down. Furthermore, the specialist's efforts to solve the problem are apt to be confined to arbitrarily chosen segments of time called 'appointments'. And finally, there is that unfortunate invention, the written referral, a process of buck-passing that sends many a person in trouble from agency to agency till he finally gives up or breaks down. As a beginning we decided that we would have to pilot some cases in order to gain some experience with the different approach we felt was needed.

¹Extracts reprinted from Auerswald, Edgar H. (1968) 'Interdisciplinary versus ecological approach', *Family Process*, 7 (2), pp. 202-14.

²Chief of Psychiatric Services, Gouverneur of Beth Israel Medical Center, New York.

At this point, a case providentially dramatizing the points we had in mind fell into our hands. (We have since found that almost every case that falls into our hands providentially dramatizes these points.) One of our psychiatrists was wandering about the neighborhood one day in order to become better acquainted with it and to explore what sort of crises and problems our neighborhood program must be prepared to serve beyond those we already anticipated. I should say here that this psychiatrist,¹ by virtue of several years in pioneering work with families, including the experimental use of game theory and games in diagnosing and treating them, was particularly well qualified to handle the situation I will describe. His explorations that day had brought him to the local police station, and while he was talking to the desk sergeant, a Puerto Rican woman arrived to report that her twelve-year-old daughter, Maria, had run away from home. This was apparently not the first time. She described the child to the police, who alerted their patrols to look for her and assigned two men to investigate the neighborhood. Our psychiatrist, whom I will refer to from now on as our 'explorer,' was intrigued and decided to follow up the situation himself.

He first identified himself to the mother as she left the police station and asked if she would be willing to allow him to help her with her current difficulty. She agreed. He learned that she lived a few blocks away with her now absent daughter and another daughter, aged fourteen. Her own parents lived nearby, and she had a paramour who also lived in the neighborhood. The father of her two children had long since deserted his family, and she was uncertain as to his whereabouts. The exploring psychiatrist learned also that the runaway girl had been seeing a psychotherapist at the mental health clinic of a local settlement house. In addition, he ascertained the location of her school.

He then decided that his behavior might appear unethical to the child's therapist, so he proceeded to the mental health clinic, a clinic which prided itself on the use of the 'interdisciplinary' team approach. The original therapist turned out to be a social worker of considerable accomplishment and experience, who agreed to cooperate with him in his investigation after he explained what he was up to and that he had the mother's permission. He read the child's case record and discussed the girl with the therapist at some length. He learned that at a recent team case conference, the diagnosis which was originally assigned to the girl, that of childhood schizophrenia, was confirmed. The team also decided that in the light of repeated episodes of running away from home, her behavior was creating sufficient danger to indicate that she be placed in a situation where that danger would be alleviated while her therapy continued. For a twelve-year-old Puerto Rican girl in New York City, especially one carrying a label of schizophrenia, this almost always means hospitalization in the children's ward of a state hospital. Accordingly, the arrangement for her admission to the state hospital covering the district had been made and was due to be implemented within a few days.

The next stop for our explorer was the school, where Maria's teacher described her as a slow but steady learner, detached from most other children in the class, vague and strange, but somehow likeable. The guidance counselor reported an incident in which she had been discovered masturbating an older boy under the school auditorium stairs. This behavior had led the school authorities to contemplate suspending her, but since they knew her to be in treatment they decided to hold off, temporarily, at least.

The exploring psychiatrist also learned at the school that Maria was involved in an after-school group program at the settlement house. He returned there and got from the group worker a much more positive impression of the girl than he had previously encountered. She participated with seeming enthusiasm in the projects of the group and got along very well with the other children. The group worker, by way of providing evidence that Maria had much potential, showed the therapist a lovely and poignant poem she had contributed to a newspaper put out by the group.

¹Dr Robert Ravich. I am indebted to Dr Ravich for the case material reported.

It was never ascertained whether the girl had written or copied the poem. She had, nevertheless, produced it, and there was general agreement that its theme of isolation was one which was expressive of her.

Back at Maria's home, our explorer talked to Maria's sister, who at first grudgingly, but then with some relish, admitted that she knew where the girl had gone during her previous runaway episodes. She was the sometime mascot of a group of teenage boys with whom she occasionally traveled for two or three days at a time. The sister did not know where she went or what she did during the junkets, but she suspected that sex was somehow involved. She also volunteered the information that neither she or her mother had ever found it easy to communicate with her sister, and that if the therapist really wanted to talk to someone who knew her, he should talk to her grandfather. So off to the grandparents' apartment he went.

The grandmother turned out to be a tight-lipped, highly religious Pentecostalist who was at first unwilling to say much at all about the girl.

The grandfather, however, was a different kettle of fish. Earthly, ebullient, jocular, bright, though uneducated, his love for Maria was immediately apparent. He spoke of her warmly, and bemoaned the lack of understanding that existed in her home. Remembering a passing reference in the case record at the mental health clinic to a suspicion that the grandfather may have engaged in seductive play with the girl, if not open sexual activity, our explorer raised the issue of the girl's emerging adolescent sexuality. This brought an outburst from the hitherto silent grandmother that confirmed the mutually seductive quality of the grandfather's relationship with the girl, followed by a return blast from the grandfather who revealed that his wife had refused to sleep with him for several years. He readily admitted his frustrated sexuality and the fact that he was at times aroused by his budding granddaughter.

I have presented only a sparse picture of the rich amount of information collected by our explorer up to this point. In a continuous five-hour effort, without seeing the absent Maria, he was able to construct a picture of her as a child who had grown up in relative isolation in a home where she received little support and guidance. Communication between herself and her mother had become more and more sparse over the years, most likely because of efforts of her older sister to maintain her favored position in the home. She had turned to her grandfather, who, feeling frustrated and himself isolated in his own marriage, brought his sexually-tinged warmth willingly into a relationship of mutual affection with her. Furthermore, it seemed clear that with someone like the group worker who liked her and who, because the group was small, could spend time with her, Maria could respond with warmth and exhibit an intelligence that otherwise remained hidden. But, and this was, of course, speculative, the tools she perceived as useful in her search for a response from others would most likely be limited to infantile techniques of manipulation developed in early years prior to the need for verbal communication or, based on the relationship with the grandfather, some form of seduction where the currency of acceptance was sex. And, at the age of puberty, having been shut out of the female world of her mother and sister, she was using this currency full blast in the world of boys.

The next day our explorer talked again to the mother, who told him that the girl had been found by the police on the street and had been hospitalized at a large city hospital on the adolescent psychiatric ward. Before visiting her, he briefly questioned the mother about her paramour. It turned out that the subject of marriage had come up between the two of them, but because he earned a limited income, both he and the mother had decided against living together or getting married. Either action would result in loss of the support the mother was receiving from the Department of Welfare for herself and her two children.

All that had been predicted the day before was corroborated when our explorer visited the girl in the hospital. Her behavior with him, and, as it turned out with the resident physician on the ward, alternated between childish manipulation and seductive behavior of a degree which appeared bizarre in a twelve-year-old. But she was, at the same time, a lithely attractive girl with a lively wit which blossomed once

she felt understood. She was ambivalent about the alternatives of going home or of going to a state hospital, mildly resisting both.

Our exploring psychiatrist then returned to the mental health clinic to discuss what he had observed with the child's therapist and the consulting psychiatrist. He suggested a plan of action as an alternative to hospitalization. By targeting on key issues in various systems surrounding this child, it seemed theoretically plausible that the conditions which held her fixed in a pattern of behavior that had been labeled as sick and crazy might be changed, thus freeing her to accept new coping patterns which she could be helped to learn. An effort to re-establish communication between the child and her mother, who had shown with her other daughter that she could raise a child with relative success, would be one step. It might not be feasible to work with the grandparents' unsatisfactory marriage, but an explanation to the grandfather, who had already tentatively understood his contribution to the girl's dilemma, might be useful. If the Department of Welfare were willing, and if the boyfriend's income could be enhanced by at least a little supplementary public assistance, the mother and her boyfriend might be induced to marry. Teacher and guidance counselor could be helped to understand the girl's behavior more fully and might co-operate on a plan for helping the girl learn new ways of relating in school. The group worker's investment in the girl could be used to a good effect in this joint effort to help her grow. And the original therapist, instead of concerning herself with defense systems and repressed conflict could concentrate on helping the family provide the maximum of support and guidance possible, or, if she wished, could still work with the girl herself. With these suggestions, our exploring psychiatrist bowed out.

A month later, a follow-up visit to the mother revealed that the girl had been sent to state hospital on the recommendation of the resident on the adolescent ward who agreed with the diagnosis and felt that, since she was 'a schizophrenic', she should be in a hospital. No-one had made any counter-move and contact between all of the helping people except the state hospital doctor and the girl's family had been terminated. This outcome had occurred *despite the fact that the mother and her boyfriend had, after a conversation stimulated by our therapist-explorer, presented themselves at the mental health clinic and expressed their willingness to marry if it seemed wise, their wish to have Maria come home, and their hope that someone at the clinic would help them learn what they must now do for her as parents.*

I have, I realize, presented an unusual situation. Reasonable question could be raised, I suppose, as to how often this sequence could occur. And my own bias is obvious in the manner of my presentation. But I think the case illustrates the radical difference between the two approaches under discussion. The approach of the therapist from the interdisciplinary clinic and that of our exploring psychiatrist are not merely two points on a continuum of techniques. The 'ecological systems' approach literally changed the name of the game. By focusing on the nature of the transactions taking place between Maria and the identifiable systems that influenced her growth, it was possible for the 'systems' psychiatrist to ascertain what strengths, lacks, and distortions existed at each interface. Two things happened when this was done.

The first was that Maria's behavior began to make sense as a healthy adaptation to a set of circumstances that did not allow her to develop more socially acceptable or better differentiated means of seeking a response to her needs as a developing child. Thus, the aura of pathology was immediately left behind.

The second was that the identification of lacks and distortions in the transactional arena of each interface automatically suggested what needed to be added or changed. Thus the tasks of the helping person were automatically defined. Rigidity of technique in accomplishing these tasks could not, under those circumstances, survive. Flexibility, ingenuity, and innovation were demanded.

The implications of what can happen if this approach is used universally are obvious. If proper data are kept, it seems inevitable that new clusters of data will occur to add to our knowledge, and a new technology of prevention and change develop.

The case of Maria has a certain uniqueness that separates it from most similar cases across our country. The uniqueness is not to be found in the 'interdisciplinary' approach used, but rather in the quantity of skilled people who were trying to help her. Despite their dedicated efforts, all they managed to accomplish was Maria's removal from the only system that could be considered generic in terms of her growth and socialization - her family - and her removal from the school and community which should provide the additional experience she needed if she were to become a participant in the life of her society. In addition, they succeeded in stamping a label on the official records of her existence, a label which is a battleground of controversy among diagnosticians, but which means simply to the lay public that she is a nut.

By chance, Maria wound up in a mental hygiene clinic where her behavior was labeled as sick. She might just as easily have joined the many girls showing similar behavior who wind up in court and are labeled delinquent. Either label puts her in a category over which various members of 'interdisciplinary' teams are in continued conflict. The needs of the girl, which are not clearly apparent, in either arena, become hopelessly obscured. Decisions made by those charged with the task of helping her are likely to be made without cognizance of those needs, since they depend for their outcome too often on the institutionalized procedures and momentary exigencies in the caring organization or person.

As a final point, let me explore the nature of the communications breakdown that occurred between the two therapists.

In his explorations, our 'systems' psychiatrist collected a good deal of data that was not known to the 'interdisciplinary' therapist and team in order to insure that he understood the operations that had been going on at each interface in which he was interested. This additional data only supplemented the data previously collected and agreed with it in content. Thus the two agreed substantially as long as they confined their communications to content and to inferred construction of the internal psychodynamics of the persons involved, Maria and the individual members of her family. And, as it happened, this was all they discussed until the exploring 'systems' psychiatrist returned for a final chat. At that time, having ordered his data in such a way as to clarify the transactions which had been taking place at the interfaces between Maria and the various systems contributing to her growth, his suggestions flowed from a plan designed to affect those interfaces. The 'interdisciplinary' team, including the original therapist, had not ordered the data in this way. Since the dominant disciplinary framework used in their arena was psychiatric, they had ordered the data around a nosological scheme for labeling illness. The outcome of their plan of action, therefore, was to apply a label signifying the nature of Maria's illness, and to decide, reasonably enough within this framework, that since treatment of her illness on an outpatient basis had not been successful, the next step was hospitalization, a decision backed by the assumption that her runaways were dangerous.

It was literally impossible, at the final meeting, for the suggestions of our 'systems' therapist to have meaning to the 'interdisciplinary' team. They fell on ears made deaf by a way of thinking which could not perceive them as meaningful. They came across as a dissonance which had to be screened out. Communication between the two approaches thus broke down completely.

This instance of breakdown is characteristic of efforts of communication between people from the two arenas. Conversations I have had with a variety of people who take the ecological systems view, backed by my own experience, seem to add up to the following:

There seems to be no serious problem of communication between the systems thinker who emphasizes structure and the experimental behavioral scientist who does basic research in his laboratory or even the researcher who is attempting to deal with a wide range of natural data. Such researchers have selected and defined the structure of the theoretical framework in which they wish to work and are the first to admit

that the outcome of their research carries the label of validity within that framework alone.

The clinical scientist, whose emphasis is more on the content of his data, is for the most part a different animal. Most clinical theorists, planners, and practitioners, regardless of discipline, seem caught in the highly specialized sequence of their own training and intradisciplinary experience, upon which they seem to depend for the very definition of their personal identity. Generally speaking, a situation seems to exist in which the integration of the cognitive apparatus of the clinician is such as to exclude as a piece of relevant data the notion that his intradisciplinary 'truths', which he carries to the interdisciplinary arena, are relative. He most often will hear and understand the notion when it is expressed. But, again speaking generally, he treats it as unimportant to his operations, as peripheral to the body of knowledge he invests with meaning. Why should this be?

I think it is because the clinician is a product of the specialized fragmentation of today's world of science. To him, admission of this fact would mean that he would have to rearrange his cognitive style, his professional way of life, and, all too often, his total life-style as well, if he were to maintain a sense of his own integrity. Not only would he have to renounce his idols, but he would have to go through a turbulent period of disintegration and reintegration. He would have to be willing and able to tolerate the fragmentation of identity boundaries such a transition entails. He would have to leave the safety of seeming truths, truths he has used to maintain his sense of being in the right, his self-esteem, his sense of values, and his status in the vertical hierarchies of his society. He would have to give up the games he plays to maintain his hard-won position in his discipline, games such as those which consist of labeling persons from other schools of thought as bright but limited, misguided, or insufficiently analyzed. More often than not, he would rather fight than switch.

I imply, of course, that he should switch. Thus the question must reasonably be asked: Why should he? Why should he attempt such a fundamental change? After all, he can point with pride to the many accomplishments and successes of his discipline and his own work within it.

But to rest on his laurels, in my opinion, is to abdicate responsibility. It is like crowing over the 70 per cent or so of juvenile delinquents who become law-abiding citizens, and ignoring the 30 per cent who do not. The major responsibility of today's behavioral scientist is to those who don't or won't make it, not those who do, to Maria, not to Little Hans, whom he already knows how to help.

The least he can do is examine his labels and how he uses them. In the life-space of Maria's world, there is a serious question as to which system deserves the prefix, *schizo*.

3 Urban characteristics

Adapting to the city

- 3.1 One of the most important features of urbanization is the associated high population density levels. In walking along a street in an urban centre, one is in close physical proximity to a vast and heterogeneous number of people, all of whom are 'strangers' to each other. This is the classic anonymity of urban life. Since urban dwellers come into contact with large numbers of people every day, although they probably have at least as many acquaintances as rural people, they have to adapt by becoming acquainted with a far smaller proportion of the community population than do rural dwellers.

- 3.2 The urban dweller thus has to develop a highly efficient social filter that excludes the majority of people around him. A concomitant of this exclusion of social involvement is the disregard of the needs of others, even when these needs may be desperate. On the whole, bystanders characteristically fail to intervene when personal crises arise, and the higher the population density at the scene, the lower the probability of intervention. This response is not necessarily an indication of increased callousness on the part of the adapted urban individual, but may also relate to a respect for people's emotional and social privacy, which is inevitably under stress in conditions of high population density. This adaptation allows, paradoxically, greater individual freedom and tolerance about behaviour ethics and dress, but also encourages people to withhold aid for fear of the consequences of behaving 'out of place'.
- 3.3 Public attention is frequently drawn to situations in which witnesses to emergency situations fail to respond by giving help. A case in point which stimulated the studies described below was that of Catherine Genovese in New York in 1964. Returning home in the early morning, she was the victim of a prolonged and fatal stabbing attack. Later investigation showed that at least thirty-eight people had observed all or part of the attack, but none of them had intervened in any way, either by giving assistance or by calling the police, while the attack was taking place.
- 3.4 Whatever this case, and others like it, may suggest about other aspects of human nature, two experimenters saw it as suggesting a general hypothesis: 'The more bystanders to an emergency, the less likely, or more slowly, will anyone intervene to provide aid' (Darley and Latané, 1968). As a test of this hypothesis, three laboratory studies and one naturalistic experiment were carried out. In the laboratory studies, contrived emergencies occurred in the presence of one, two or three subjects. In each of the experiments, the rate of reporting or otherwise overtly responding to the emergency became significantly less as the number of 'bystanders' increased (Darley and Latané, 1968).
- 3.5 This *decrease* in intervention occurred despite an *increase* in witnesses. In the naturalistic study, ninety-two thefts of a case of beer were staged in a New York off-licence while the manager was out of the shop. On half the occasions, one real customer was at the checkout desk: 65 per cent of these reported the theft. On the other occasions, two customers were present: 56 per cent of these reported it. Although this difference does not immediately appear very great, bear in mind that, since twice as many people were witnesses in the two-customer situation, one might expect twice as high a frequency of report. Clearly, in an environment of strangers, there appear to be social or psychological pressures operating on the individual to avoid becoming involved, even in situations where action is called for.
- 3.6 A study by Gaertner and Bickman¹ extended the findings above to an examination of the likelihood of help being given between people of different ethnic groups. They arranged for blacks and whites, with clearly identifiable accents, to telephone strangers and represent themselves as (1) having been misconnected, and (2) being stranded on a country road without any more coins. They asked the receiver of the call to telephone a garage. When the two people were of different ethnic groups, help was given significantly less frequently than when they were the same.
- 3.7 The line that divides interference and help in crises is not subject to any clear rules and the penalties for 'interfering' may seem so great to an individual,

¹Unpublished research referred to in Milgram (1970).

through fear of 'loss of face' in front of the crowd, as to mitigate against intervention. Thus, one may expect city dwellers to be less trusting in personal encounters than their rural counterparts. Altman, Levine, Nadien and Villena of the City University of New York carried out an experiment to test this hypothesis (1970). The criterion they used was the willingness of householders to allow a stranger to enter their home and use the telephone. Approximately three quarters of the city respondents answered the requests by shouting through closed doors or looking through peepholes, while three quarters of the rural respondents answered by opening their door. The following table shows the percentages of actual entries: that is, successful entry of the respondent's home and use of the telephone.

Table 1

Experimenter		Entries achieved (per cent)	
		City ¹	Small town ²
Male	1	16	40
	2	12	60
Female	1	40	87
	2	40	100

¹Number of requests 100

²Number of requests 60

- 3.8 A study by McKenna and Morgenthau¹ found that the helpfulness of people who received a 'wrong number' telephone call was significantly lower in large cities than in small towns.
- 3.9 The paradoxical isolation of the individual in the social density of the city can be viewed as a result of the adaptive screening out of social inputs, while isolation in the rural areas, at the other end of the spectrum, is a result of a paucity of social inputs. *Complete* sensory isolation, then, should be responded to in different ways by urban and rural individuals. An experiment by Haggard, As and Borgen (1970) found that this experience was far more traumatic for the urban dweller than the rural. The urbanites showed a much higher incidence of perceptual and mental disturbances. While none of the rural 'isolates' hallucinated, nine of the ten urban subjects did. In addition, eight of the ten rural subjects reported no perceptual or mental disturbances at all. After the experiment, four of the rural subjects reported some perceptual distortions, but to a lesser extent than the urban subjects who 'saw' the walls moving, colours changing, or objects changing in size and distance.²
- 3.10 Another significant difference between urban and rural areas is in the general 'pace' of life. Berkowitz³ found that walking speeds were faster in cities than in small towns, and a study by Lowin *et al.* (1971) found that, on a number of indices (post office transactions, cigarette packet purchases, petrol station transactions, currency exchange in banks and walking speeds), the pace of these indices was significantly faster in the city.

¹Unpublished research referred to in Milgram (1970).

²These differences are not necessarily attributable *solely* to social isolation, e.g. they might equally well be due to the higher levels of general stimulation in cities.

³Personal communication referred to by Milgram (1970).

Deviance and stress

- 3.11 All the above studies suggest that there is a range of important environmental factors in city life that require specific forms of adaptation. One stereotype of the city, the 'urban pathologies' model, suggests that this adaptation, in particular the adaptation to high levels of population density, of itself causes stress reactions in individuals. Experimental studies of the effects of overcrowding in laboratory animal colonies are often cited as supporting this point of view. For example, experiments carried out with rats show that both biological (e.g. loss of body weight, peptic ulcers) and behavioural (e.g. aggression, failure in mothering) stress reactions occur when unnaturally high levels of density are arranged. Some writers have compared urban life with the 'behavioural sink' studied experimentally by Calhoun (1962).
- 3.12 In general, severe stress reactions such as suicide, mental illness and alcoholism tend to occur in a higher proportion of the urban population than the rural. In London, the standardized rate of suicide, as a percentage of the average rate for England and Wales as a whole, is 115. For the county boroughs, the rate is 106, for other urban areas ninety-six, and eighty-eight for rural districts (Sainsbury, 1955).
- 3.13 Although statistical studies of the incidence of stress and deviant behaviours in urban and rural areas *in general* point to the city as being associated with higher levels of these indices, it is important to study, in addition, the differential rates *within* urban areas, since such study can begin to articulate the particular aspects of the environment in different parts of the city which are associated with maladaptive behaviour. In the United States, such studies have, in the main, utilized a 'zone' model of the city as developed by the Chicago urban sociologists, in particular by Park and Burgess in the 1920s. They proposed a model of the growth of the city as producing a concentric series of zones, differing in dwelling types, population characteristics, activities and so on (Park and Burgess, 1925).¹
- 3.14 Moving out from the central business district, *Zone I*, they distinguish five zones. In the central zone are found stores, business offices, light industry, places of amusement and other types of business establishment. This area has, typically, few residents, except for transients occupying hotels and people living in substandard housing, plus the homeless of what Park and Burgess called 'hobohemia', located on the fringes of the business district.

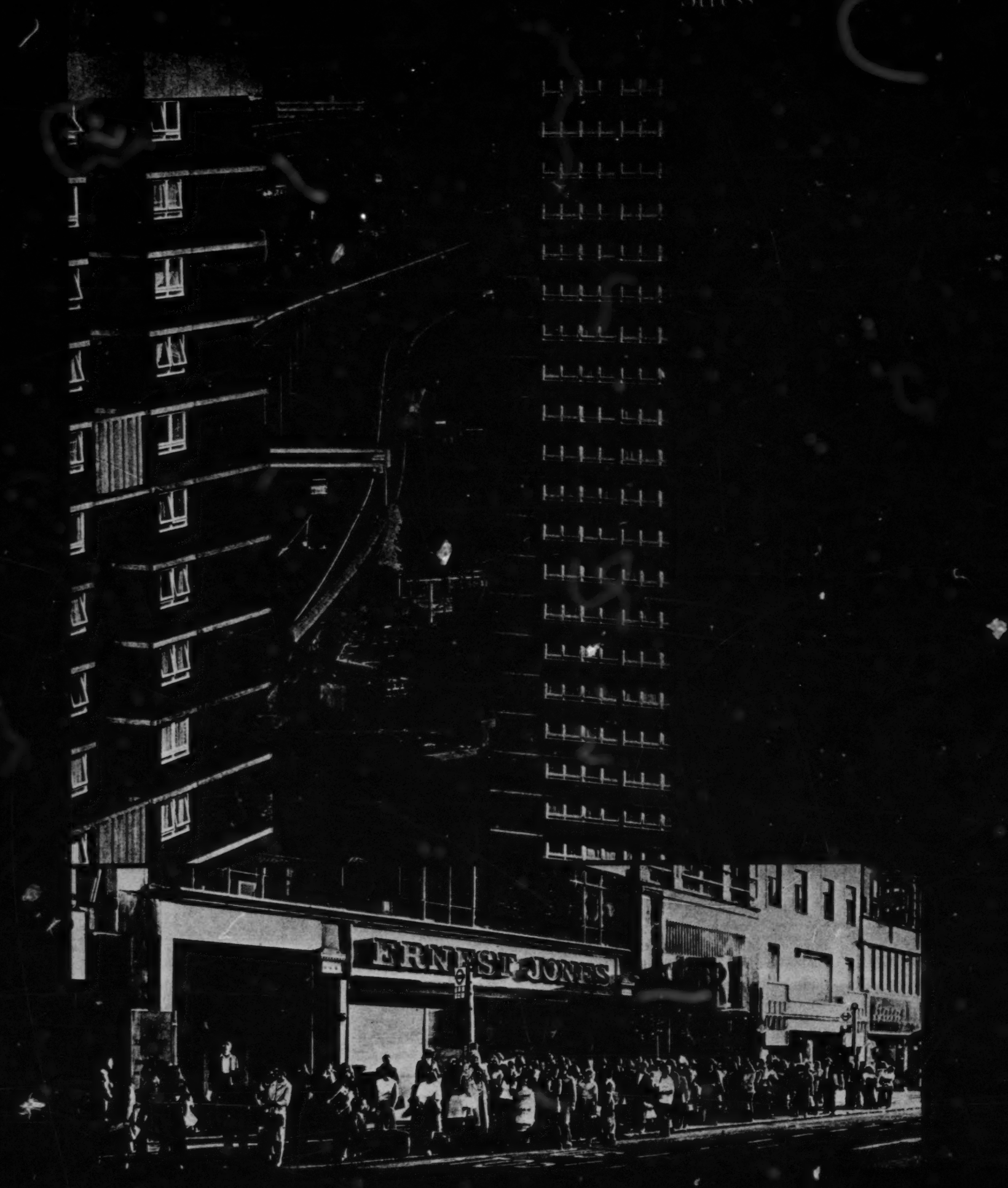
Zone II is an area of transition, due to the encroachment by *Zone I* as a result of expansion. Land values are high because of the expectation that they will be used for industrial or business purposes, and any residential property is characteristically in a poor state of repair. The residents of this area are mainly the lower socio-economic classes, unskilled workers and their families, and the various foreign immigrant groups.

Zone III, the zone of working men's homes, is intermediate in many respects between the slum and residential outer areas. It has a more stable population than that of the inner zones, and has a higher percentage of skilled labourers and fewer first-generation immigrants, both native and foreign. It contains the 'second-generation settlement' of foreign immigrants.

Zone IV, an area of single family apartments and houses, is occupied primarily by middle-class residents, and has stable population patterns: a high percentage own their homes and reside for long periods at the same address.

¹As you will remember, this model was first introduced in Block 1.





Zone V, the suburban commuter area, has a population which is predominantly upper middle-class and is highly stable: it shows little or no presence of social disorganization.

- 3.15 Using these zones as a basis, many studies have found that certain types of social deviance and stress reactions tended to be concentrated in specific areas. Figures 1 to 3 (on pp. 36-37) show the distribution of various psychoses in Chicago, as found by Faris and Dunham (1939), and Figure 4 (on p. 37) shows the imposition of the Park and Burgess zone model on the map.
- 3.16 Studies carried out by Thrasher (1927) and Shaw and McKay (1929), of the incidence of delinquency and other crime, showed that the highest rates were found in Zones I and II of Chicago and the rates became successively lower with zones further away. Delinquent gangs were found by Thrasher to be largely concentrated in the slum areas. A later study by Shaw, McKay *et al.* (1942) of 25,000 juvenile court delinquents showed additional evidence of the consistently high rates of delinquent crime in Zone II, which were ten times the rates for the outer zones. Findings similar to those for Chicago were reported by the same investigators for eight other large metropolitan cities and eleven other cities in the United States.
- 3.17 A number of different interpretations of these two sets of data are possible. Two divergent theories are the 'urban drift' theory, and the 'stress-reaction' theory. The urban drift theory suggests that persons predisposed to crime and mental disorders are attracted, or tend to migrate to, the central areas of cities. The stress-reaction theory suggests that these forms of reaction are produced in the indigenous population by various factors which are pre-potent in these areas.
- 3.18 While 'hobohemia' or 'skid row' areas of cities fit the urban drift theory, there is little other evidence, in the United States at least, to support this theory. There is, for example, a high delinquency and crime rate in Harlem, New York, which has relatively low in-migration rates.
- 3.19 Faris (1955), in a further study of mental disorders, found no evidence that people with mental illness migrate to the slum areas following economic failure. This view is supported by Dunham (1965), who claims that mobility provides no significant explanation for variations in the rate of schizophrenia in different areas.
- 3.20 Zones I and II of the Park and Burgess model are those areas in which the greatest disorganization and change occur. They are also areas in which the mix of different ethnic groups is greatest and where social conflict is likely to be higher. Given this, and the absence of contrary evidence, the explanation of the various forms of social deviance found concentrated in these areas would seem to lie preferably in a stress-reaction type of theory.
- 3.21 Note, however, that asserting the validity of any theory on the basis of differential rates between areas of the city has only the status of an hypothesis: causal links, which in the case of the behaviours selected above must ultimately lie at the individual level, are neither proved nor disproved by recourse to averaged data. Failure to realize this is to commit the ecological fallacy of moving from data at one level to causality at another.
- 3.22 What the data described above do show, however, is that urban areas are not alike; as well as varying in type of residence, activity, population and so on, they also vary in the incidence of various individual acts of deviance in one way or another, and that, in general, these types of acts are more common in

urban as opposed to rural areas.¹ In the case of criminal acts, one may justifiably interpret the data not as showing that certain areas *cause* criminality, by virtue of poverty, poor housing or whatever, but that these factors may in some way predispose individuals to crime.

- 3.23 The causality of a criminal act thus cannot be explained as primarily due to these factors, although related to them. For instance, Chandler (1964) formed a relationship between the level of air pollution in different parts of London and delinquency rates. To make sense of this, as for any other data which show a relationship between two factors, the finding of a correlation must be put into a broader perspective, which looks at other interrelated variables.

Activity 2 The interpretation of ecological data

If an ecological study of urban deviance finds that two areas of a city have markedly different rates of violent crime, how would this information be interpreted under:

- 1 an 'urban-drift' theory?
- 2 a 'stress-reaction' theory?

Can you think of any alternative explanations of the data?

Allow about 15 minutes on this work.

1

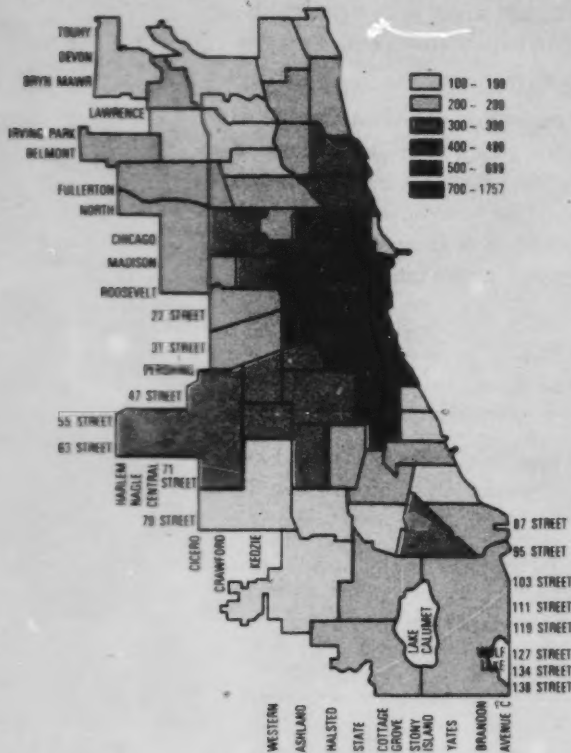
2

Alternative explanations

Compare your answers with those on p. 95.

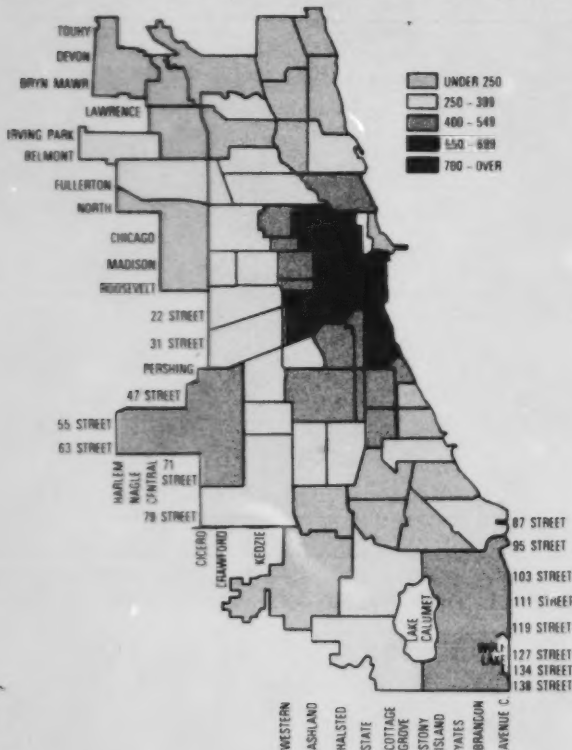
¹Nevertheless, there may be a tendency in cities for petty crimes to be treated in legalistic and committal terms as compared with rural areas.

Figure 1 Insanity rates in Chicago 1930-1931 per 100,000 adult population



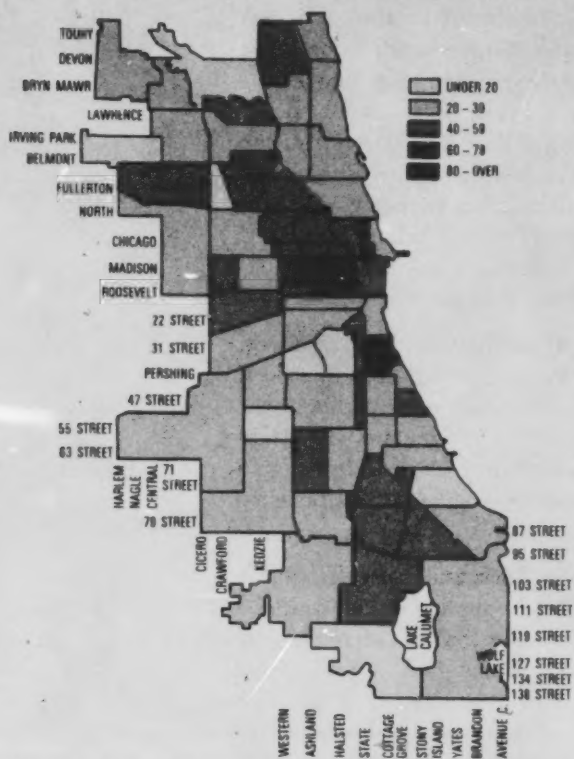
Source: Prepared by R. E. Faris and E. Hines from records at the Chicago Psychopathic Hospital

Figure 2 Schizophrenia rates (all types) in Chicago 1922-1931 per 100,000 adult population



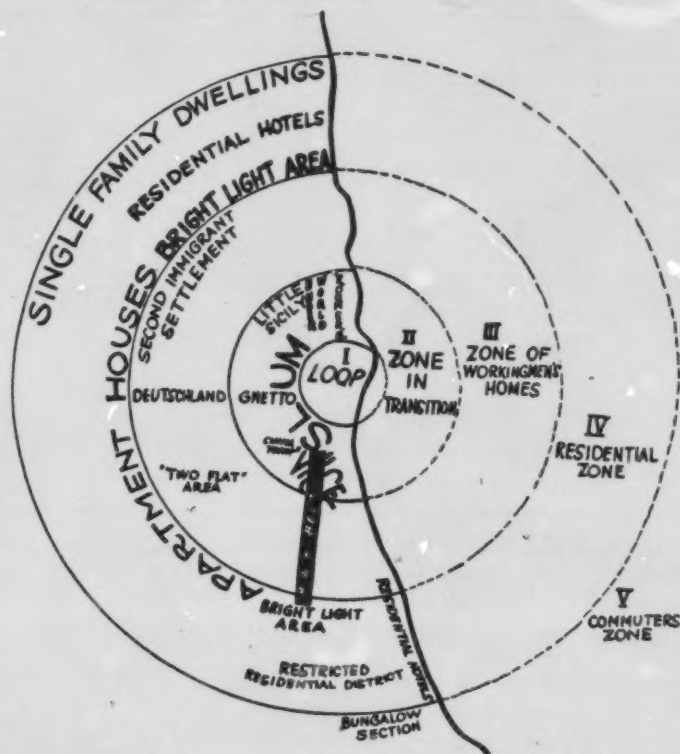
Source: Prepared by H. W. Dunham, Jr., from the records at Chicago, Elgin and Kankakee State Hospitals.

Figure 3 Manic depressive rates in Chicago 1922-1931 per 100,000 adult population



Source: Published by H. W. Dunham, Jr., from the records at Chicago, Elgin and Kankakee State Hospitals.

Figure 4 Park and Burgess Zone Model



Source: Park, R. E. (1925) p. 55.

- 3.24 In comparing the American studies described above with those carried out in Great Britain, and relating them to the Chicago ecological studies, it is important to distinguish two aspects of the Park and Burgess model: the static and the dynamic. Based on Chicago at a time of expansion, the model considers, for instance, Zone II, the zone of transition, as being in state of penetration by business and industrial land-use. Thus, taking a static view of the transition zone will show it as abutting areas which have a high predominance of commercial land-use, as having overcrowded residential property in a poor state of repair and so on. The dynamic view sees this zone as being encroached upon by industrial and commercial expansion, suffering a decline in population and losing residential property to the interests of Zone I.
- 3.25 Critics of the Park and Burgess model (see Hauser and Schnore, 1965; Sjoberg, 1964) have concentrated, in the main, on this dynamic, radial-growth aspect. In Great Britain, where on the whole our cities are rather more stable in the central zones, a pattern of industrial development on the fringes of the established cities alters the view of the city as growing 'from the inside out'. In London, for example, there is little evidence of increasing industrial penetration in 'transitional' areas.
- 3.26 Thus, in Great Britain, the determinism of the Park and Burgess 'radial-growth' model in its dynamic aspects is not directly applicable. However, a number of studies have looked at some of the variables that are secondary to, or subsumed under, the growth factor, and have found that certain of the variables of deviance and stress reactions still show relationships to the subsidiary variables of the growth model. In addition, support has been found for certain elements of the static zone model.

Population density

- 3.27 In the American studies of urban ecology (e.g. Shaw, McKay *et al.*, 1942) it was found that areas of high population density in general also had the highest delinquency rates. In addition, these studies confirmed the original Park and Burgess finding of a gradient of delinquency rates and other measures of 'social disorganization', such as mental disorders, bad housing, tuberculosis and poverty, and that this gradient ran from high indices in the central and transitional zones to low indices on the periphery of the urban area.
- 3.28 Galle *et al.* (1972), in a further study of Chicago data, were interested in the various ways in which different measures of population densities were related to various 'pathologies' or measures of Shaw and McKay's social disorganization.
- 3.29 Population density, expressed in persons per acre, can obscure variations in densities at other levels of analysis. For instance, a single block of high-rise flats with one or two persons per flat will show an extremely high density of persons per acre, compared with, say, a group of prefabs with twenty persons per prefab on the same area. Clearly, then, a general measure of density is not an adequate predictor of actual conditions of overcrowding in which individuals live. If overcrowding is to be studied as relating to various forms of pathology, population density must be expressed in more meaningful terms.
- 3.30 Galle *et al.* subdivided population density into four measures: number of persons per room (PPR); number of persons per housing unit (PPHU); number of housing units per structure (HUPS); and number of structures per acre (SPA). Firstly, they found that these four indices are not necessarily correlated with each other. Secondly, they found that when aggregated, to give an overall

measure of general density, no significant correlations were found with the various 'social disorganization' pathologies.

- 3.31 They studied five main indices of pathology: high fertility; mortality; incidence of children in care; deviant aggressive acts; and psychiatric disorders. All of these indices, with the exception of the last, were most highly related to PPR, while the psychiatric disorder index was related to PPHU.
- 3.32 Prewar studies of delinquency in London, using overcrowding (i.e. PPR or PPHU) as an index, all found some association between the two variables. Burt (1925) found a correlation of 0.77 between delinquency and rates of overcrowding. Similarly, Carr-Saunders, Mannheim and Rhodes (1942) and East, Stocks and Young (1942) found that the family dwellings of delinquents were more overcrowded than those of a non-delinquent group (for the first study) and the London average as a whole (for the second study). Ferguson (1952) found that, in Glasgow, overcrowding and delinquency were related. Morris (1957) in a study of Croydon, found that PPR was closely related to criminal rates, and that PPHU showed no significant correlation.

Activity 3 Population density

Why is a measure of population density based on a count of the number of people per acre unlikely to give meaningful correlations with related measures of deviance and other pathologies?

Allow about 10 minutes on this work.

Compare your answer with the suggested answer on p. 95.

- 3.33 Wallis and Maliphant (1967), in a comprehensive study of delinquency rates and the rates of other forms of social deviance, related these to a variety of indices, including area, overcrowding, type and ownership of residential accommodation. They based their study on a sample of 350 young male offenders committed in London to the following institutions:
- 1 Senior detention centres (three-month sentences).
 - 2 Borstal (indeterminate sentences).
 - 3 Prison (sentences of three months to three years).
- 3.34 The sample covered a period of nineteen months, and the delinquency rates were reduced by a factor of 12/19 to arrive at mean rates per year. The overall rate for the London area was 7.94 per 1000 head of population. Comparing this with the 1961 England and Wales figure, which was 5.55 per 1000 (Commissioners of Prisons, 1962) it can be seen that for London as a whole, the rates were somewhat higher than the national average. Figure 5 overleaf shows the breakdown of the average data into London boroughs. When broken down in this way, rates varied from over twenty in North Kensington and Finsbury to less than two per thousand in the City, South Kensington and Lewisham.

Figure 5 Distribution of delinquent rates in London: 1961 estimated annual rate of committals to three types of penal institution of young offenders aged 17-20 years



Source: Wallis, C. P. and Maliphant, R. (1967) p. 252.

Figure 6 Index of overcrowding in London: 1961 percentage of persons living at more than 1½ persons per room



Source: Wallis, C. P. and Maliphant, R. (1967) p. 256.

3.35 The distribution shows a close similarity to Burt's (1925) study. In discussing the problem of the validity of boroughs as units, the authors note that borough boundaries serve administrative purposes and do not necessarily relate to social and economic differences. However, Westergaard (1964) suggests that London boroughs do naturally relate to a relatively clear-cut pattern of natural areas, and Wallis and Maliphant (1967) point out that the use of a coarse unit of measurement like the borough will tend to obscure relationships rather than produce spuriously high relationships. Thus, the large variation they found at a borough level may in fact relate to even higher variations if smaller units had been studied.

3.36 Wallis and Maliphant took six indices of housing conditions:

- 1 PPR.
- 2 Per cent of persons at greater than one and a half per room.
- 3 Per cent of private households having exclusive use of four facilities (piped hot and cold water, toilet, bath).
- 4 Per cent of private households sharing a dwelling.
- 5 Per cent of private households containing more than one family.
- 6 PPHU.

Figure 6 opposite shows the distribution of index 2 over the London boroughs. The first three indices, 1, 2 and 3, all showed a close relationship to delinquency, while indices 4, 5 and 6 were not reliably related.

3.37 These findings supported Morris's (1957) Croydon study and the prewar studies mentioned earlier. In addition, the study found that delinquency areas were characterized by a predominance of manual workers in residence, less house ownership and more local authority tenancy, a poverty of parks and open spaces, and that these areas also had a high proportion of industrial and commercial land-use.

3.38 Thus, (state Wallis and Maliphant):

This analysis supports the Shaw and McKay 'transitional' . . . zone hypothesis in the static sense of their theory: that is, that delinquent areas are also areas in which industrial and commercial activities abound. In the dynamic sense, however, their theory does not seem to be so well supported. Anyhow, in the central areas of the London conurbation, there is little evidence of increasing industrial penetration of these 'transitional' delinquent areas.

Wallis, C. P. and Maliphant, R. (1967) p. 264.

They found, however, that one dynamic aspect of the Chicago zone model was supported, that of population density decline and its relationships to social disorganization.

3.39 In the Chicago studies, and those of Philadelphia and Boston, delinquency rates were high in areas of population decrease and low in areas of population increase (Shaw, McKay *et al.*, 1942). The Wallis and Maliphant study found that this was supported in their study, with the exception of areas receiving a high rate of coloured immigrants, which also showed high delinquency rates. Thus, decline, or rapid change, of population was associated with one index, delinquency, of the Chicago school's 'social disorganization' factor.

3.40 It is interesting to compare these findings with a discussion by Schmitt (1963) of Hong Kong. This is a city in which density is high at all levels, from PPR to SPA. However, it has relatively low social disorganization rates, and low mortality and disease rates. Schmitt suggests three factors that produce this situation:

- 1 The much lower proportion of car ownership.
 - 2 A high level of family cohesiveness, exerting strong pro-mainstream cultural pressures on behaviour.
 - 3 That for most immigrants, who make up a high proportion of the population, housing conditions, while overcrowded, still represent a considerable improvement over the conditions in their place of origin.
- 3-41 This relates to the concept of 'environmental insult' suggested by Carey (1972) as being produced by overcrowding and decline in housing conditions, and lowering self-esteem. This, operating on families and individuals, polarizes and intensifies a 'them and us' feeling which contributes to deviant behaviour as a response to the 'insult' of a poor living environment.
- 3-42 The Chicago model of social disorganization included not only delinquency but also mental disorders and suicide in its global conception. Studies in Great Britain have shown that 'unpacking' this concept reveals several ways in which this inclusion obscures rather than clarifies the relationship between these variables and other factors such as local density.
- 3-43 Sainsbury (1955), concentrating on the distribution of suicide in London, differentiated between poverty and other measures of social disorganization. Whereas in the American studies areas of poverty and social disorganization coincide in the inner-city areas, in London it is the relatively prosperous northwestern boroughs that have the highest rates for mobility, isolation and disorganization, the poorer eastern boroughs the lowest. In addition, Sainsbury found that the zones of transition were not the areas of highest mobility.
- 3-44 Sainsbury found that poverty and suicide were negatively correlated: boroughs with a high proportion of middle-class and relatively prosperous inhabitants had the highest rates, and those with poorer, working-class residents, the lowest. He also found that overcrowding showed no correlation with suicide rates, with the exception of St Pancras. Thus, he suggests, it may be that theories relating suicide to population density in fact have taken only one factor of urban life as accounting for the greater urban rates over rural areas.
- 3-45 The author points, rather, to isolation, and associated loneliness as in fact being a causal factor in suicide. In five of the London boroughs studied, the proportion of suicides who had been living alone was significantly higher than that of the borough's total population. He also found that boroughs having a high proportion of lodging houses and people living alone also had the highest rates.
- 3-46 The Wallis and Maliphant (1967) study also showed that suicide rates for the years 1960-62 were not related to the delinquent areas, suggesting again that there are differences between English and American cities in this respect. In the same publication, the authors quote a survey carried out by the General Register Office (1960) of the distribution of admissions to hospital for mental disorders, in which, again, no association was found between psychiatric and criminal deviance.
- 3-47 In Liverpool, however, these two variables are associated in the same areas, which are also areas of poverty and transition. Castle and Gittus (1957) found that suicide, psychiatric admissions and delinquency were concentrated in the same locales. These areas also had the highest rates of children in care and children on probation.

Summary

- 3-48 Thus, the general picture that emerges from these particular studies, in relation to the Park and Burgess/Shaw and McKay city growth model, is that in Great Britain, at least, social disorganization is not a useful unifying concept. As a result, the simple model of zones and related differences in areas is not directly applicable, particularly as it relates to the processes of urban growth and development. However, some of the characteristics of the transition zone, in its static realization as abutting and blending into industrial areas, are comparable between the two countries.

Activity 4 Social disorganization

Why is 'social disorganization', as used to describe a variable of areas of a city, a problematical concept? In considering this question, take into account the 'social malaise' indices of Liverpool in Block 2, and the other case-studies.

Allow about 15 minutes on this work.

Compare your answer with the one on p. 95.

4 A theory of behaviour and its settings

Introduction

- 4-1 In the previous section, the city has been considered as having areas, or zones, of differing characteristics, and individuals living within these areas who from time to time carry out various notable forms of behaviour. As has been suggested, the theoretical linkage of these 'pathologies' and the environmental complex is a highly problematical task. In particular, one may wish for more than a study of the relatively rare events so far studied; for a study of the continuing processes of the behaviour of individuals who do adapt and live within the city and do not suffer from pathological states.
- 4-2 From first-hand experience, we know that a city is made up of roads, parks, buildings, parking meters, cafés, cinemas, court sessions, school classes, water mains, bus routes and so on, and we know that individuals, in the main, conduct their own lives within this environmental complex. While the study of 'breakdowns' such as suicide, crime and insanity tell us something about the

way in which some individuals find it impossible to transact their lives adaptively in the city, an enormous gap in our knowledge remains if thought is not given to the normal functioning of a city and its individuals.

- 4.3 The particular ecological approach pervading the studies described in the previous section of this part of the book avoids the undoubted problems that arise in taking a rather different approach, one that concentrates not on the 'fall out' of urban life, but on the more mundane, everyday patterns of individual behaviour.
- 4.4 If our prime focus is the individual, we are interested in knowing how his own goals and purposes are realized within the socio-spatial framework of the city. 'Looking out' from our own position, we do not see the city laid out as a map; we see parts of it from different viewpoints, we count some people as friends or colleagues, and others as strangers. We feel 'at home' in certain places, and 'out of place' in others.
- 4.5 We know how to fit in, how to behave, in buses, in cinemas, cafés and various parts of the city. We feel 'lost' in others, for instance, if one finds oneself for the first time required to attend a court, or operate an unfamiliar ticket machine. Our behaviour is clearly related to our social and physical environment. In this section, the coupling of individuals and the places in which they operate is the main area of concern.

The ecological unit

- 4.6 One of the first problems to be approached in studying behaviour and its ecological environment is the identification of the natural units of the phenomena concerned. In any ecological study, whether it is behavioural, biological or chemical in basic orientation, the units which are identified must exist independently of the presence of observers; they must be bounded and located in time and space.
- 4.7 The units must be self-generated, not set up for the purposes of the study, and must exhibit internal patterns that differ from the patterns outside the boundary. According to these criteria, a person, a tree and a building are all ecological units. A square mile of a town, all the adults between thirty-five and forty years of age in the town or the postal system are not, in contrast, ecological units.
- 4.8 It is characteristic of the ecological environment, viewed as units, that it consists of units within units. Thus, a school as a unit contains, is made up of, a variety of included unitary parts, the classes, which are further comprised of pupils, who are made up of internal, biological units, and so on. Each unit is functionally linked with the units contained within it. For instance, the behaviour of a jet of gas issuing from an orifice, viewed as a unit, obeys one set of physical laws: relating pressure, velocity, turbulence and so forth. At the lower level of units, the molecular, a different set of laws apply. Both sets of laws are true, both describe what they set out to, both describe the behaviour of the particular unit, but yet appear to bear no relationship to each other except in the context of the particular unit of study, in which the behaviour of the jet, and its component molecules are mutually linked, or coupled.
- 4.9 In the social sciences, one is faced with sets of theoretical approaches which illustrate the same problems: sociology describes the behaviour of groups of individuals, psychology describes the behaviour of individuals. Thus, a central problem for anyone who wishes to bring together and unify the various disciplines, which describe human behaviour at different levels, is to develop an

understanding of the way in which the assemblies of units are coupled to the units that comprise them, and to do so in relation to the physical environments in which they are located.

- 4.10 Besides being self-generated, ecological units are characteristically self-perpetuating, they are homeostatic systems, continuing in time and maintaining their boundaries and internal patterns. This continuation of identity occurs despite the loss of components and the introduction of new ones. The behaviour of the unit is constrained by its own set of internal processes, which serve to counter change and deviation.

Activity 5 Characteristics of ecological units

Describe the three main characteristics of an ecological unit that must all be satisfied before that unit is conceptually justified.

Allow about 10 minutes on this work.

Compare your answer with the one on p. 95.

- 4.11 The unit of study at the behaviour-environment level must, therefore, show such a structure and internal processes. The theory described in this section is the outcome of twenty years of naturalistic research carried out by R. G. Barker and his associates of the University of Kansas in two field stations, one located in Oskaloosa, Kansas (code-name Midwest) and Leyburn, Yorkshire, in Great Britain (code-name Yoredale).
- 4.12 The unit they have isolated is called a 'K-21 behaviour setting' (frequently shortened to 'behaviour setting' or 'setting'). Many other studies have taken up this concept and shown that they are stable, homeostatic units that have a high degree of control over the behaviour transacted in them. A sample of these studies which are concerned particularly with the educational implications of the theory are described in Section 5 of this part of the block.
- 4.13 Barker (1968) describes in the following extract some of the characteristics of a school class, one exemplar of a behaviour setting:

It is a natural phenomenon; it is not created by an experimenter for scientific purposes.

It has a space-time locus.

A boundary surrounds a school class meeting.

The boundary is self-generated; it changes as the class changes in size and in the nature of its activity.

The class meeting is objective in the sense that it exists independent of anyone's perception of it, *qua* class; it is a preperceptual ecological entity.

It has two sets of components: (a) behavior (reciting, discussing, sitting) and (b) non-psychological objects with which behavior is transacted, e.g. chairs, walls, a blackboard, paper etc.

The unit, the class meeting, is circumjacent to its components; the pupils and equipment are in the class.

The behavior and physical objects that constitute the unit school class meeting are internally organized and arranged to form a pattern that is by no means random.

The pattern within the boundary of a class meeting is easily discriminated from that outside the boundary.

There is a synomorphic relation between the pattern of the behavior occurring within the class and the pattern of its non-behavioral components, the behavior objects. The seats face the teacher's desk, and the children face the teacher, for example.

The unity of the class is not due to the similarity of its parts at any moment; for example, speaking occurs in one part and listening in another. The unity is based, rather, upon the interdependence of the parts; events in different parts of a class meeting have a greater effect upon each other than equivalent events beyond its boundary.

The people who inhabit a class are to a considerable degree interchangeable and replaceable. Pupils come and go; even the teacher may be replaced. But the same entity continues as serenely as an old car with new rings and the right front wheel now carried as the spare.

The behavior of this entity cannot, however, be greatly changed without destroying it: there must be teaching, there must be study, there must be recitation.

A pupil has two positions in a class: first, he is a component of the supra-individual unit, and second, he is an individual whose life-space is partly formed within the constraints imposed by the very entity of which he is a part.

Barker, R. G. (1968) pp. 16-17.

Behaviour settings: attributes

- 4.14 A behaviour setting is thus comprised of a set of structural attributes and a set of dynamic attributes. The structural attributes consist of the physico-spatial characteristics of the settings which are *synomorphically* related to the dynamic aspects of the setting; the set of behaviour patterns which occur within it.
- 4.15 Synomorphic, which means 'similar in structure' refers to the coupling of behaviour and milieu. The milieu of a setting is circumjacent to the behaviour it surrounds, and contains the setting. Thus, the milieu of a school class consists of the walls, floor, ceiling, desks, chairs, boards, books and so on, which exist independently of the individuals who perform the behaviour patterns which relate to it.
- 4.16 The boundaries of a setting are not only those physical boundaries that contain it, but are also temporal; a school class is bounded by its starting and finishing times, outside which the setting does not exist. Information on the occurrence of settings reflects these attributes, e.g. Class 3G meet in Classroom 14 from 10 a.m. to 10.50 a.m. for Miss Smith's music lesson.
- 4.17 A setting consists of one or more standing patterns of behaviour. These patterns are units in the massed behaviour of individuals; they are not a characteristic of the individuals involved but persist when the participants change. Examples of standing behaviour patterns include football games, church services, school meals, auction sales. The standing patterns of behaviour are attached to particular milieu structures, e.g. 'school meals' as behaviour patterns are attached to a requisite structure of chairs, tables, plates, cutlery and food. These behaviour-milieu parts are called synomorphs.
- 4.18 To be classified as a behaviour setting, a community part must thus satisfy three criteria relating to its structure and its internal and external dynamics.

- 1 Structurally, the part must conform to the description given earlier – i.e. is it one or more behaviour-milieu synomorphs? Excluded by this criteria would be such units as ethnic groups, city blocks and organizations.
- 2 Does the part have a specified degree of *interdependence* among the synomorphs that are encompassed within it? If the part contains synomorphs that are minimally interdependent, e.g. a sports field with three football pitches and a tennis court, then it is more than a single setting.
- 3 Does the part have a specified degree of *independence* from external synomorphs? If the part is dependent, mutually linked, with other parts then it is part of a more inclusive setting.

Thus the individual part, Miss Smith's 3G music lesson may be linked with her 5F music lesson later in the same room, by sharing milieu and teacher, so that they are both the same setting: Miss Smith's music lesson.

Figures 7 and 8 overleaf show the relation between synomorphs and behaviour settings in a small area of Midwest.

Behaviour settings: their variable properties

- 4.19 In addition to the unchanging attributes of their structure and dynamics, behaviour settings have many other properties. The most important of these are summarized as follows:

Geographical locus Each setting has a precise spatial location in which it occurs, and where its milieu is situated.

Temporal locus Behaviour settings occur at precise times: they commence and terminate. They have specifiable durations and frequencies of occurrence.

Population At each occurrence, a setting has a specifiable number of participants. This variable is related to many other functional properties of behaviour settings.

Occupancy time The number of man-hours expended in the behaviour setting, for a designated time period (OT).

Functional positions of inhabitants The positions that people take within the setting vary according to the amount of power, or control, they exert over the functioning of the setting. This dimension measures the *penetration* of individuals into the setting, and is indexed into six zones.

Action patterns Barker identifies eleven categorical patterns: aesthetic; business; educational; governmental; nutritional; personal appearance; physical health; professional; recreational; religion; and social action patterns.

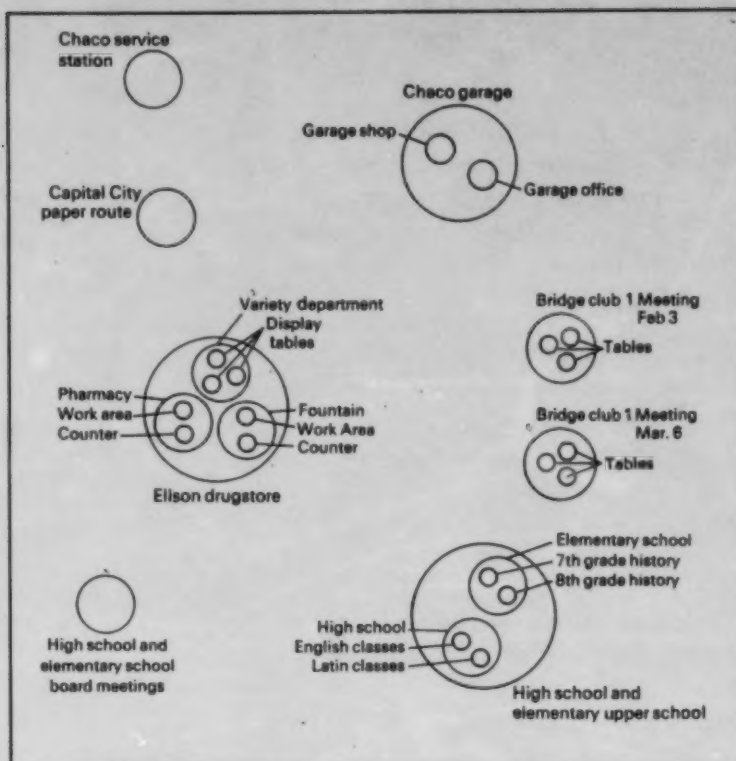
Behaviour mechanisms¹ Each behaviour pattern incorporates various types of behaviour. Five behaviour mechanisms are distinguished: gross motor activity; manipulation; talking; thinking; and affective behaviour.

Pressure Settings vary in the extent to which they exert pressures on different population groups to enter the setting. These pressures vary from strong coercive pressures to enter, such as regulations enforcing school attendance, to strong negative pressures, such as regulations prohibiting children from entering public houses.

Autonomy The extent to which a setting manages its own functioning as against having it determined by external agencies is a measure of its autonomy. Thus, a social security office is low in autonomy, a delicatessen, high.

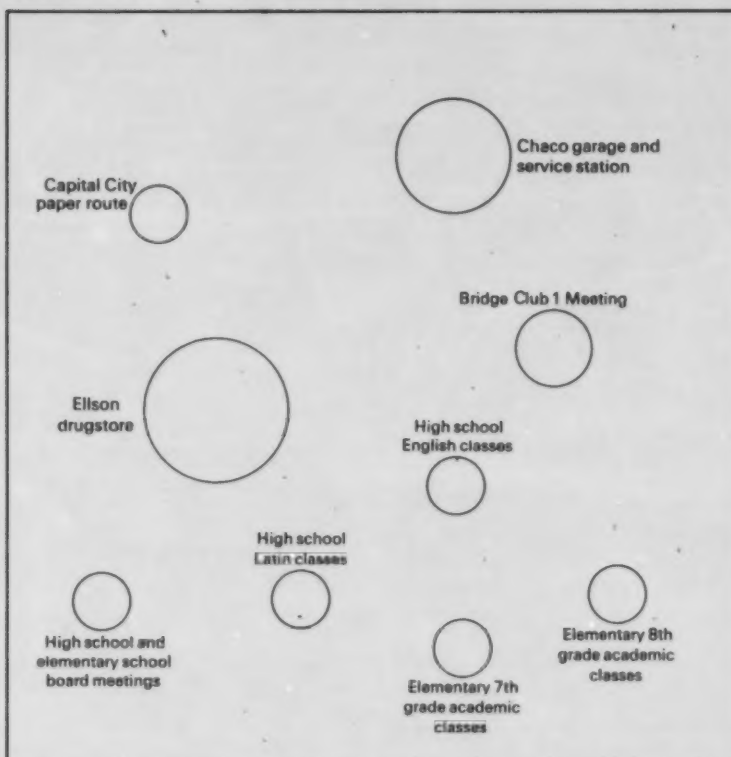
¹These categories are not to be taken as final and inclusive: these were the ones used in the research described here. Others might be more appropriate in other situations.

Figure 7 Synomorph structure of part of Midwest



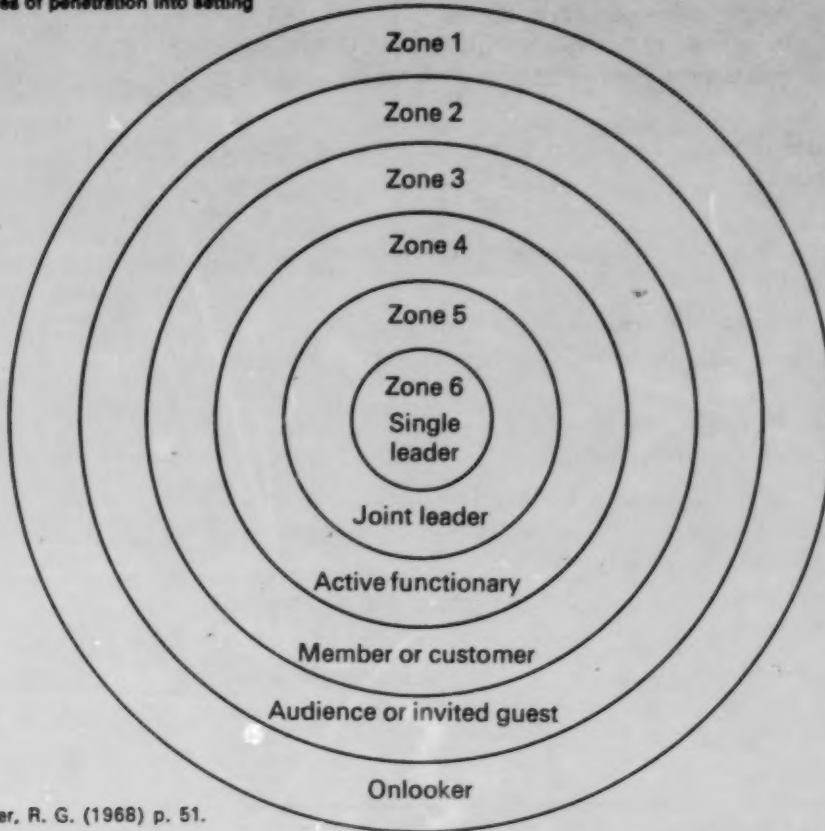
Source: Barker, R. G. (1968) p. 24.

Figure 8 K-21 behaviour setting structure



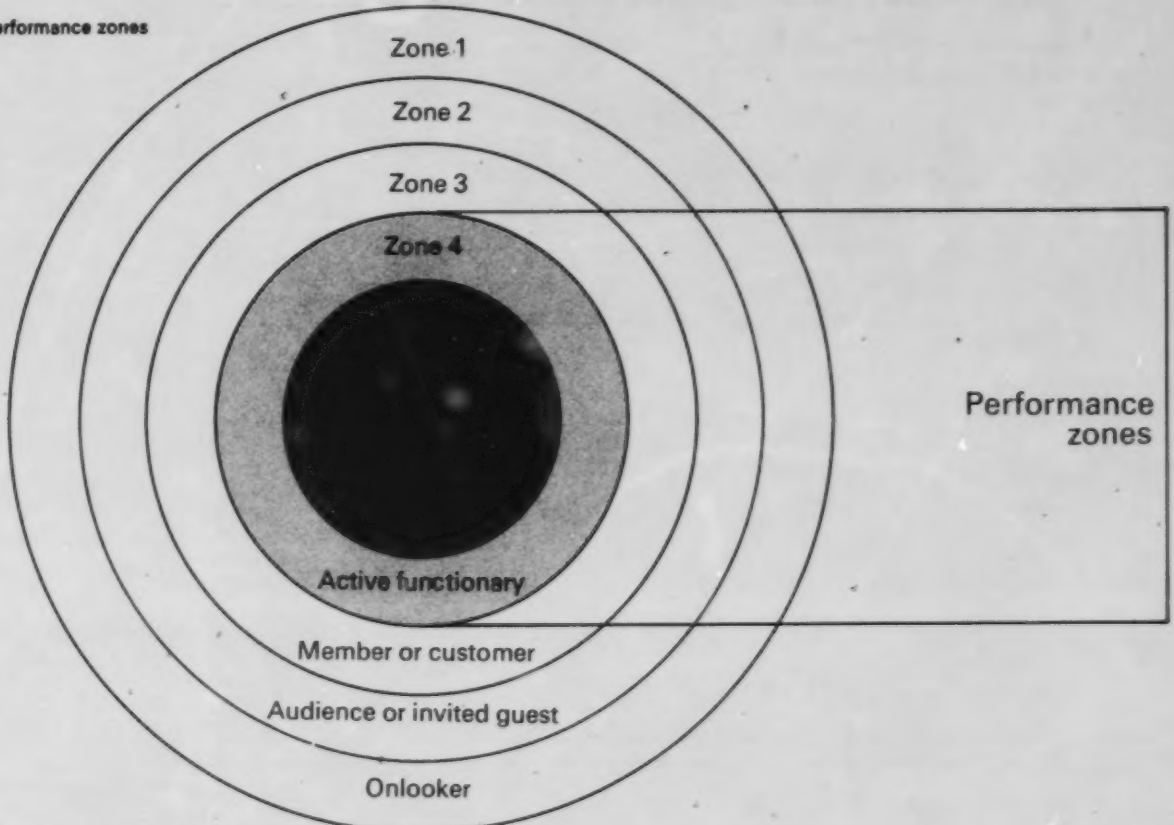
Source: Barker, R. G. (1968) p. 25.

Figure 9 Zones of penetration into setting



Source: Barker, R. G. (1968) p. 51.

Figure 10 Performance zones



Source: Adapted from Barker, R. G. (1968) p. 51.

Functional positions

- 4.20 People operating in a setting participate in different capacities and with differing amounts of involvement and responsibility. Barker describes this dimension as 'depth of penetration' and distinguishes six zones, as follows. (See Figure 9 on p. 49.)

Zone 6 Single leader The person who occupies this zone has authority over, and leads, the whole setting. The occupants of all other zones are subordinate to this person.

Zone 5 Joint leader Persons in this zone share responsibility with each other for the functioning of the setting.

Zone 4 Active functionary Inhabitants of this zone have direct control of a subsidiary part of the setting, but do not lead it. Their function is to maintain the behaviour patterns.

Zone 3 Member or customer These are the 'rank and file' members of the setting; they do not have control but participate in the behaviour patterns.

Zone 2 Audience member or invited guest These inhabitants do not participate beyond expressing evaluation of the behaviour of members of Zones 6-3. They have little or no power in the setting.

Zone 1 Onlooker Persons in this zone take no part in the standing patterns; they are tolerated but not welcomed, and have no power at all.

- 4.21 Zones 4, 5 and 6 are the *performance* zones of a setting; members who enter these zones are called performers. They are involved in the processes that maintain the functioning of a setting at its normal level (see Figure 10 on p. 49.)

Activity 6 Functional positions

Identify the likely functional positions of pupils and teachers in the following teaching styles.

- 1 Traditional classroom (fixed seating – teacher at front of class with audio-visual aids).
- 2 Team teaching.
- 3 Project grouping.
- 4 Language laboratory.

Allow about 10 minutes on this work.

Compare your answer with the one on p. 95.

Sources of synomorphy

4.22 As has been described, in the functioning of behaviour settings there is a synomorphic relation between the standing behaviour patterns and the milieu, and this relationship is in a homeostatic state. It maintains itself and resists change and disruption. This continuation of function persists despite individuals coming and going: new individuals have to 'fit in'; they have to make their behaviour congruent with the requirements of the setting.

4.23 While the setting is a place in which individuals satisfy their needs, and work towards personal goals, this interpretation of individual behaviour will reveal a wide variation: people enter chemists to get medicine for a cold, or to buy baby food. One child in a class may be extremely successful, another may fail dismally. One person may enter hospital to die, another to have an illness cured. Yet the behaviour of these individuals will conform to the synomorphy of the setting. Thus, the maintenance of the patterns of behaviour must be primarily attributed to forces which operate within the setting.

4.24 Barker distinguishes eight categories of sources of this synomorphic character of behaviour settings:

1 **Physical forces** The physical components of the milieu and their spatial arrangement determine certain aspects of the behaviour patterns. The layout of chairs, desks and other objects in a classroom enforces the occupants to sit at desks in a certain relationship to each other. They do not allow hopscotch to be played. While the power of the physical environment is not total, it makes actions of certain kinds easier than others. These forces also include those that arise from the physical presence of individuals together: people push each other into underground trains during the rush hour; they queue for various facilities.

2 **Social forces** These include all the group forces for conformity. As a setting has a standing pattern of behaviour, individuals who are involved are accepted for compliance, and rejected for non-conformity. The child who will not respond to a teacher's questioning will be the recipient of strong forces to comply.

3 **Physiological processes** The temperature, humidity, ventilation and lighting of a setting serve to maintain it. There exist government regulations for the environmental characteristics of most work settings.

4 **Perceptual processes** The perceived character of the milieu shapes the standing patterns. Gloomy, dark settings depress activity; open, bright settings facilitate activity. Children perceive open spaces as areas for running and playing in a non-coerced, free manner. White lines on a road keep cars on their own sides of the highway.

5 **Learning** Individuals learn to conform to the patterns of a setting and thereby avoid physical and social constraints: they learn what behaviour is suitable. Those who inhabit the performance zones learn how to control the standing patterns of settings: teaching children to conform, to be quiet in church, to keep on the pavement proceeds continually.

7 **Selection** Behaviour settings have 'entry requirements'. These exist to allow people who have potential for synomorphic interaction in the setting to be differentiated from those who will not easily conform. Job interviews and advertisements select people with the correct 'qualifications', e.g. 'multi-lingual secretary required'.

8 **Behaviour influences on the milieu** The milieu is altered to conform to the behaviour patterns if it provides barriers to them. These forces act in the opposite direction to those outlined above. Desks are rearranged for different

instructional strategies; new roads are constructed where a demand exists. Paths become worn into the ground of open spaces; they in turn coerce people into conforming to them. When a group of individuals generates the demand for a setting, e.g. the formation of a photographic club, a suitable milieu is found, or constructed.

- 4.25 The dependence of a setting on these forces is shown by the non-occurrence of the setting if any one of these is missing. Thus, if a teacher is absent from a class, all aspects of the setting suffer, as it does if the lighting fails, or the chairs are missing. The interdependence of the elements is shown, in addition, by the occurrence patterns of a setting. All parts of a setting begin and end simultaneously. The different settings of a town have their own characteristic opening and closing time schedules, and these combine so that the town 'opens up' over a period in the morning and 'closes down' at night. But, every setting has an all-or-none character: it is an environmental unit.

Behaviour settings: rating scales

- 4.26 To identify and describe behaviour settings in detail, a set of rating scales has been developed to measure the variables described previously:

interdependence
occupancy
penetration
action patterns
behaviour mechanisms

The K-index: interdependence

- 4.27 The interdependence of a pair of synomorphs is one of the defining criteria of behaviour settings; if two synomorphs are closely interdependent, they are defined as comprising one setting. The cutting point for this criterion is a rating of 21 on the K-scale - synomorphs that have a value of greater than 20 constitute separate settings.
- 4.28 The K-value for a synomorph pair is the sum of the ratings on the following scales:
- 1 The degree to which behaviour or its consequences span the synomorphs.
 - 2 The degree to which the synomorphs share inhabitants.
 - 3 The degree to which synomorphs share the same performers.
 - 4 The degree to which the synomorphs use the same space.
 - 5 The degree of temporal co-occurrence.
 - 6 The degree to which the synomorphs use the same objects.
 - 7 The degree of similarity of their behaviour mechanisms.

Interdependence 1 Behavioural

- 4.29 Behavioural interdependence is divided into two components: the transition of molar actions from one synomorph to the other, and the spread of physical results of behaviour in one synomorph to the other. The rating is made as follows:

Table 2

Estimated per cent of molar actions originating in one synomorph and terminating in the other	Estimated per cent of behaviour in the synomorph having physical consequences in the other	Rating
95 -100	95 -100	1
67 - 94	67 - 94	2
34 - 66	34 - 66	3
5 - 33	5 - 33	4
2 - 4	2 - 4	5
trace - 1	trace - 1	6
none	none	7

Interdependence 2 Population

- 4.30 The rating for this variable is taken from the following table for the percentage overlap of inhabitants of all zones.

Table 3

Per cent overlap	Rating
95 -100	1
67 - 94	2
33 - 66	3
6 - 32	4
2 - 5	5
trace - 1	6
none	7

$$\text{Percentage overlap} = \frac{2 P_{ab}}{P_a + P_b}$$

P_{ab} = number of shared inhabitants

P_a = number of inhabitants of synomorph a

P_b = number of inhabitants of synomorph b

Interdependence 3 Performers

- 4.31 This is rated in the same way as measure 2, but for those inhabitants occupying Zones 4, 5 and 6 of the penetration zones. The inclusion of this scale weights the interdependence measure for those people who occupy central positions.

Interdependence 4 Spatial

- 4.32 This is a measure of the extent to which two synomorphs A and B use the same, or adjacent, areas. If both apply, the scale that gives the greater interdependence is used:

Table 4

Adjacent space	Same space	Rating
	(Per cent common)	
	95 -100	1
	50 - 94	2
A and B use different parts of same room or small area	10 - 49	3
A and B use different parts of same building or lot	5 - 9	4
A and B use areas in same part of town	2 - 4	5
A and B use areas in same town but different parts	trace - 1	6
A in town/B out of town	none	7

¹Tables 2 to 7 (on pp. 53-4) are adapted from Barker, R. G. (1968) *Ecological Psychology*, Stanford University Press, pp. 41-4.

Interdependence 5 Temporal

- 4-33 This rating is based on the percentage of occurrence of synomorphs simultaneously, in the same part of a day, on the same day, same week, same month or same year. The closest proximity determines which column is entered in the table:

Table 5

Per cent of occurrences with closest proximity

Same year	Same month	Same week	Same day	Same part of day	Simultaneous	Rating
					75 - 100	1
				75 - 100	50 - 74	2
			75 - 100	50 - 74	25 - 49	3
		75 - 100	50 - 74	25 - 49	5 - 24	4
	75 - 100	50 - 74	25 - 49	5 - 24	0 - 4	5
50 - 100	50 - 74	25 - 49	5 - 24	0 - 4		6
0 - 49	0 - 49	0 - 24	0 - 4			7

Interdependence 6 Behaviour objects

- 4-34 This scale rates the overlap of actual behaviour objects between synomorphs, or the overlap of similar objects.

Table 6

Similar objects	Same objects	Rating
	All shared	1
All	Greater than half shared	2
Greater than half	Half shared	3
Half	Less than half shared	4
Less than half	Few shared	5
Few	Minimal sharing	6
Little similarity	None	7

Interdependence 7 Behaviour mechanisms

- 4-35 This measure rates the degree to which the synomorphs contain similar behaviour mechanisms. The rating is based on the number of mechanisms (see paragraph 4.19) present in one synomorph and absent in the other.

Table 7

Numbers of behaviour mechanisms present in one synomorph and absent in other

	Rating
0 - 1	1
2 - 3	2
4 - 6	3
7 - 8	4
9 - 10	5
11	6
12	7

The K-21 point: behaviour setting criteria

- 4-36 The K-value is the sum of the ratings on the seven scales above. Any set of synomorphs that have K-values of 20 or less between each other constitutes a

single behaviour setting; synomorphs that have higher values are sufficiently independent to count as behaviour settings individually.

- 4-37 The reliability of the K-score was studied by using three independent judges to rate 100 synomorph pairs on the above scales. The correlations between the three judges were .93, .93 and .92 and their agreement on which synomorphs constituted settings exceeded chance at the .001 level. These levels fall within those normally taken to indicate reliable measures. The same tests have been applied to ratings of action patterns, penetration measures and behaviour mechanisms with similar results to those given above (Barker, 1968). The following tables show synomorphs and their K-ranges, the grouping of these into behaviour settings, and a sample of behaviour settings identified in Pipington, a village in Buckinghamshire.

Table 8

Synomorph sets	K-values	Behaviour settings
Third-grade reading class	14-16	Third-grade academic subjects
Third-grade writing class		
Third-grade arithmetic class		
Drugstore fountain	19-20	Drugstore
Drugstore pharmacy		
Drugstore variety department		
Twelve monthly meetings of Women's Club I	18-20	Women's Club I meeting
Third-grade academic subjects	28-30	Third-grade academic subjects
Fourth-grade academic subjects		Fourth-grade academic subjects
Fifth-grade academic subjects		Fifth-grade academic subjects
Presbyterian Church worship service		Presbyterian Church worship service
Presbyterian Church Sunday School opening exercises		Presbyterian Church Sunday School opening exercises
Presbyterian Church members' meeting	22-37	Presbyterian Church members' meeting
Presbyterian Church Martha Circle study group		Presbyterian Church Martha Circle study group

Source: Barker, R. G. (1968) p. 46.

Characteristic behaviour settings of Pipington, a Buckinghamshire village with a population of 623

- 1 Guy Fawkes Day bonfire in the evening
- 2 Pipington and Woodley Guides and Waverley Ranger: joint camp at Higgins' farm
- 3 Morgan Brothers butcher's shop
- 4 Church of England Mothers' Union garden party
- 5 Pipington Cricket Club single wicket cricket contest
- 6 Red Lion pub winter darts team supper
- 7 Burton Hall Management Committee jumble sale with produce stalls
- 8 Bring and buy sale and coffee evening with the Misses Pickett for Christian Aid
- 9 Conservative and Unionist Association cheese and wine party
- 10 Baden-Powell Cubs and Scouts litter clean-up
- 11 Aylesbury Ramblers' Association Save the Countryside annual sponsored walk
- 12 Royal Antidiluvian Order of the Buffaloes initiation ceremony
- 13 Church of England Deanery Youth Fellowship committee meeting
- 14 Pipington Amateur Theatrical Society after performance party
- 15 Old Berkeley Bazzles tea of the hunt
- 16 Bernwode Singers St Nicholas Week concert at-home with Woodley School recorder group
- 17 Primary school Christmas service of nine lessons and carols in St Nicholas' Church
- 18 Sunshine (over sixties) Club annual trip on the Thames

Source: Wright, Herbert F. (1973) Personal communication.

Activity 7 K-21 settings

Identify which of the following parts of a secondary school are likely to qualify as K-21 settings. Use subjective judgement, but consider the main variables of the K-index: behaviour, population, spatial and temporal, objects and mechanisms of behaviour.

- 1 school hall
- 2 playground
- 3 all pupils in the first year
- 4 geography lesson with Form X
- 5 rugby club meeting
- 6 morning assembly
- 7 choir practice
- 8 field trip
- 9 headmaster's room
- 10 art room
- 11 boiler house
- 12 second-year domestic science classes
- 13 PTA meeting

Allow about 15 minutes on this work.

- 1
 - 2
 - 3
 - 4
 - 5
 - 6
 - 7
 - 8
 - 9
 - 10
 - 11
 - 12
 - 13
-

Compare your answers with the ones on p. 96.

Behaviour settings: local autonomy

- 4-38 Settings vary in the extent to which they determine their own functions and operations. While the inhabitants of Zones 4 and 5 who control the setting are those who ensure that its programmes are carried out, the decisions as to what these programmes should be, who the setting shall serve and contain and so on, are not necessarily made by the occupants of Zones 4 and 5. They may rely for the rules of the setting on outside agencies or individuals. Those external programming influences may originate close at hand, or they may be many hundreds of miles away. The proximity of these influences is a measure of the setting's local autonomy.

Behaviour setting genotypes

- 4-39 Behaviour settings which are independent of each other on the K-index may nevertheless show similarities in standing patterns. Many settings are labelled

in everyday language by common names that reflect these similarities, and performers in settings, who contain parts of the programmes of the settings, are similarly labelled, e.g. restaurant: waiter; bank: bank clerk; school: school teacher. This suggests that settings occur in 'genotypes' just as organisms occur and are labelled accordingly.

- 4-40 Behaviour setting genotypes, in general, operate with classes of behaviour objects, milieux and inhabitants which are to some extent interchangeable. On the inhabitant side, the performers in the three central penetration zones, who exercise varying degrees of control over the setting, do so as a consequence of incorporating within themselves (i.e. knowing) parts or the whole of the programmes of the setting. Although individuals are able to learn new programmes, it is recognized that this process is, on the whole, time-consuming. The time taken to incorporate programmes into performers in the central zones of settings is their period of training; in the case of professional action patterns involving the issue of a licence, three years or more may be required.
- 4-41 The programmes of a setting may, in some instances, be stored in other ways, for example, in the 'book of rules' for railway workers or football players. Even when this is so, for the setting to function these programmes must be, in addition, stored *within* the performers in the setting. Anyone not in this position is learning how to participate in the setting. A sensitive measure, then, of the extent to which settings fall into genotypes is the time taken (T₁) for a central (Zone 5/6) performer in setting A to achieve the same level of function in setting B and vice versa. Barker utilizes a formula that estimates this in relation to the time taken (T₂) to programme a novice, such that if T₁ is less than or equal to one quarter of T₂, then the two settings are the same genotype.
- 4-42 The following illustrate some of the 220 genotypes found in Midwest (Barker, 1968). The numbers in brackets refer to the penetration ratings for the performance members of the settings.
- 50 Dinners and Banquets. Organizers (5) plan, buy, cook, serve meal, and clean up after meal; helpers (4) help with above or in some cases all bring ready-cooked food and place it for diners to serve themselves; members (3) or customers (3) eat and converse.
 - 51 Dinners with Business Meetings. President of organization (6) arranges for dinner, presides at meeting; cooks (4), waitresses (4) prepare and serve dinner; secretary (4), treasurer (4), committee chairman (4) do prescribed work; invited speakers (4) make speeches; members (3) eat, converse, engage in business meeting activity, listen.
 - 52 Dinners with Dances. Chairmen of committees (5) arrange and manage dinner, program, dance; master of ceremonies (5) introduces speakers (4) and entertainers (4) for program; cooks (4) prepare and waitresses (4) serve food; guests (3) eat, dance, converse, listen.
 - 53 Dinners with Recreational and Cultural Programs. Chairmen (5) arrange for dinner, program, decorations; cooks (4), waitresses (4), decorators (4) prepare and serve dinner, decorate; master of ceremonies (5) presides; speakers (4) and/or entertainers (4) present after-dinner program; members (3) listen, eat, converse, applaud.
 - 54 Drugstores. Pharmacist (5) mixes and dispenses drugs according to prescription issued by physician, manages drug and general variety store; manager (3) manages cosmetic, jewelry departments and fountain; sales persons (4) sell and serve customers at counters or fountain, wash dishes, mix drinks; customers (3) select, buy, pay for merchandise, eat food, converse.
 - 55 Educational Methods Classes. Leaders (6) or co-leaders (5) teach methods and values of teaching to individuals who will teach; members (3) learn, listen, ask questions, discuss.

- 56 Elections, Polling Places. Election board chairman (5) sees that voting and ballot counting is conducted according to law, makes up final tally for county clerk, seals pouch; bailiff (5) sets up booths, tables, supplies ballots, and canisters; election clerks (4) check off voters, hand out ballots, place ballots in appropriate canisters; counting board (4) counts ballots; watchers (4) watch procedures to detect any deviancy; voters (3) identify themselves, mark ballots, cast ballots.
- 57 Elections, Public Posting of Returns. County clerk (5) and election board chairmen (5) record votes as they come in; secretaries (4) place results on records and on blackboard for spectators to see; spectators (2) stand before blackboard, read how election is going, converse.
- 58 Elementary School Basic Classes. Teacher (6) teaches reading, grammar, arithmetic, writing, elementary health, social studies, science, and engages in classroom routines; pupils (3) listen, write, recite, read, figure.

Barker, R. G. (1968) p. 215.

Behaviour settings: authority systems

- 4-43 Related to the autonomy of a behaviour setting is the position it occupies in a larger-scale authority system. Some settings are wholly autonomous and not linked to any authority system, e.g. individual clubs, individual small shops and services. However, many settings have their standing patterns determined by other settings, either directly or through intermediary settings. Behaviour settings that form part of an authority system in general have lower interdependence with those settings that lie above or below them in the system than with parallel settings, or with settings in other systems. The communications up and down the system are typically of short duration and do not form a significant percentage of the action patterns or OT. Excluded from consideration in the authority system are controls by governmental settings via printed legal regulations.
- 4-44 The following section¹ is an illustration of the application of the concepts already introduced, to two particular behaviour settings that occurred in Midwest.

BASKETBALL GAME

Basketball games are common and popular behavior settings in Midwest. Five views of them are presented: (a) synopsis of the rules, i.e. of the program of the setting for the players; (b) photograph of a basketball game; (c) news report of a game; (d) précis of the behavior setting genotype Basketball Games; (e) copy of the data sheet of one basketball behavior setting, as prepared for the research.

a Rules for High School Basketball Game (Program of Genotype 18 for Players). Two teams of five players each play the game of basketball. The players work together in trying to score by throwing the ball through their own basket while preventing their opponents from scoring.

The ball is round, about 2.5 feet in circumference, and weighs 20 to 22 ounces. It has a leather or composition cover and is inflated with air.

The baskets hang 10 feet above the floor at opposite ends of the court. Each basket has a metal ring 18 inches in inside diameter, with a bottomless white cord net that hangs down 15 to 18 inches. The net slows down the flight of the ball as it goes through the basket. The baskets are firmly attached to backboards four feet inside the opposite ends of the court midway between the sidelines. They may be fastened solidly to a wall, hung by rigid supports from the ceiling, or anchored to the floor on supports beyond the playing court. The boards may be made of wood or any other flat, rigid material. Fan-shaped

¹The quoted and illustrative material on pp. 58-64 is reproduced from Barker, R. G. (1968) pp. 94-103.

backboards are 35 inches high and 54 inches wide, with a 29-inch radius. They are mounted so the tops are 12 feet 8 inches above the court. Rectangular boards are 48 inches high and 72 inches wide; when mounted, the tops are 13 feet above the floor.

The court usually measures 50 by 84 feet.

A team consists of a center, two forwards, and two guards. The *forwards* play near their own basket, i.e. the basket their opponents are guarding, so they can maneuver into good positions for *shooting* (throwing the ball at the basket) and *rebounding* (grabbing the ball as soon as it bounces off the basket or backboard after a shot). The *center* plays near the basket or along the free-throw lane. He also concentrates on scoring and rebounding. The *guards* play closer to their opponents' basket. They bring the ball down the court for the center and forwards.

The game starts with a *jump ball*. The referee tosses the ball into the air in the center, and the opposing centers try to tap it to a teammate. During the game, a jump ball occurs whenever opposing players grab and hold the ball at the same time. The players move the ball by *passing* (throwing) it to a teammate or by *dribbling* it (bouncing the ball on the floor, tapping it with one hand; dribbling is the only means besides passing of advancing the ball down the court).

A player scores two points when the ball enters the basket from above and passes through it. When one team scores, the other team takes the ball beyond the end line of the court. A player passes it to a teammate on the court, who moves it toward the other basket. The offensive team must move the ball forward across the mid-court line within 10 seconds. This rule is set up to prevent *stalling* (deliberately slowing down the progress of the game).

A *free throw* is awarded to a player who has been fouled by an opponent. A successful free throw counts one point. The fouled player shoots the free throw from behind the free-throw line, 19 feet from the end line of the court.

Teams play four 8-minute quarters. They rest for one minute at the end of the first and third quarters, and for 10 minutes at the half.

If the opposing teams are tied at the end of the regulation time, they play one or more 3-minute *overtime* (extra) periods.

The Officials include two referees, one timer, and two scorers. The *referees* approve all the equipment before the game starts. A referee tosses the ball in the center to start the game. They decide all disagreements or problems not covered by the rules, notify the scorers when a team calls 'time out', and call fouls. The *scorers* record all scoring and fouls. The *timer* operates the scoreboard clock to record playing time.

When a player holds, pushes, charges into, or trips an opponent, he commits a *personal foul*. The fouled player receives one free throw, unless he was in the act of shooting; in that case he receives two free throws. Teams are penalized, if they make more than four fouls in a half, by the fouled player on the other team being allowed an extra free throw if he scores on the first one. Players must leave the game if they commit five personal fouls.

A *technical foul* can be called for delaying the game, too many time-outs, leaving or entering the playing court illegally, or unsportsmanlike conduct. The opposing team receives one free throw.

A team loses possession of the ball for such violations as *traveling* (running or walking with the ball) and *double dribbling* (using both hands to bounce the ball, or stopping dribbling and starting again).

b Photograph of Basketball Game. The photograph is a 0.004-second record of the Midwest behavior setting High School Boys' Basketball Game. In spite of its extreme brevity (0.0000015 of an occurrence), a number of the behavior setting attributes are revealed.

1 The picture demonstrates that this behavior setting is a preperceptual phenomenon; it is photographable. It indicates that, on a continuum from

- objects to concepts, High School Boys' Basketball Game falls toward the object end of the scale.
- 2 The two kinds of behavior setting components can be seen: humans and milieu objects (balls, goals, bleachers).
 - 3 Parts of the boundary of the setting are pictured.
 - 4 The ordered and organized nature of this setting's standing pattern of behavior and milieu are shown; it is unlikely indeed that the components of setting would by chance fall into the pattern recorded by the photograph.
 - 5 The synomorphic relation between the standing behavior pattern and the pattern of the milieu is exhibited, e.g. the spectators face the court, the players face the ball.
 - 6 The circumjacency of the milieu of the game (walls, doors) to the standing pattern of behaviour is shown; the players, spectators, officials etc. are within the milieu.
 - 7 The picture shows that the parts of this behavior setting are not uniform and iterative but multiform and non-repetitive; varied inhabitants and behavior (e.g. players playing, spectators watching, referee refereeing) and varied objects and events (e.g. lights illuminating, bleachers supporting spectators) are recorded.
 - 8 The interchangeable parts of the setting are represented; substitute players are on the bench.
 - 9 Inhabitants of different power positions can be identified: spectators (Zone 2), players, officials, cheerleaders (Zone 4), coaches (Zone 3).
 - 10 The action patterns Personal Appearance and Social Contact and the behavior mechanisms Gross Motor Activities and Manipulation are clearly in evidence.

c News Report of Basketball Game from the Midwest High School Cub Reporter

Bears Stun Patton

The slow, controlled Midwest team of last year turned run and gun, and showed promise for a good year with a stunning upset over the Kaws of Patton, 66-64.

The 'stars' were abandoned for the first game, but Ken Keleey and Ron Barton were the most formidable. Ken, whose great-uncle was a kangaroo, poured in 24 points on his patented turnabout-explosion shot. He kept Midwest in reach at the first of the game as the Bears had a bad case of the jitters.

Patton took an early lead but couldn't hold the pace against the Bears' full court press and pressure offense. The Bears went to the lockers at half time down one point.

The fans were not downhearted and gave the Bears tremendous support.

In the second half the Bears turned it on and took a 10-point lead. About this time the reserves made their debut. Jim Auburn, who made three fouls in the first quarter, fouled out. Vern Day came in and made his presence known; Allen Bertram and Vern got nine points between them to keep the Bears in the lead. Coach substituted freely during this time as Ron Barton had four fouls and the Bears were weakening.

It looked as if Midwest was out of it when they were down four points with less than two minutes to play. The Bears put the pressure on and tied it when Ron Barton was fouled from behind with three seconds left. The 5'3" senior coolly stepped to the line and hit both tosses of a 1 and 1 to assure the Bears of the victory.

Frank Nading, who likes to rest his elbows on opponents' noses, was instrumental in the win. He and Ken rebounded with the taller Patton foes.

The game was a classic affair, and it pointed out the strength in Midwest this year.

d *Précis of Genotype 18, Basketball Games, Midwest, 1963-64.*

Milieu: located in residential area of Midwest (and of neighboring towns in the case of out-of-town games), within high school gymnasium; playing court as defined above; bleachers for spectators, pep clubs, and school band on one side of court; refreshment stand in hall; behavior objects are basketballs, goal baskets, referee's whistle, uniforms, candy bars, popcorn, soft drinks, band instruments.

Standing pattern: consists of three behavior-milieu synomorphs, viz. basketball game, refreshment stand, and band performances.

Program (and penetration) of performers: coaches (5) arrange game, instruct players; referees (4) approve equipment, start game, enforce rules; scorers (4) keep scores and record fouls; timer (4) keeps time ball is in play and ends quarters, half, and game; players (4) play according to rules; cheerleaders (4) lead pep club and other spectators in cheers; band (4) plays music in intervals; salesmen (4) sell popcorn, candy, soft drinks, tickets. Program of spectators (2): watch, cheer, converse, eat.

e *Data Sheet of Basketball Game*

Name: <i>High School Boys Basketball Game</i>					
Genotype # 1-3: <i>0'1'8</i>		Genotype Commonality # 8: <i>9</i>		Locus 16: <i>1</i>	
B S # 4-6: <i>0'0'5</i>		Authority System 13-14: <i>0'1</i>		No. of Occurr. 17-19: <i>0'0'8</i>	
Genotype Date 7: <i>3</i>		Class of Authority Systems 15: <i>4</i>		Survey # 20: <i>5</i>	
Occupancy Time of Town Subgroups				Max. Penetration of Subgroups	
Group	No.	P	Hours	OT Code	ACTION PATTERN RATINGS
Inf	3		24	21-22: <i>0'4</i>	Inf 21: <i>1</i> Aes: 53: <i>0</i>
Presch	12		54	23-24: <i>0'5</i>	Presch 22: <i>2</i> Bus 54: <i>1</i>
Y S	10		87	25-26: <i>0'6</i>	Y S 23: <i>2</i> Prof 55: <i>1</i>
O S	18		258	27-28: <i>0'9</i>	O S 24: <i>4</i> Educ 56: <i>1</i>
Town Child	43		423	29-30: <i>1'1</i>	Govt 57: <i>1</i>
Adol	63		1720	31-32: <i>1'7</i>	Adol 25: <i>4</i> Mtr 58: <i>1</i>
Adult	72		1676	33-34: <i>1'7</i>	Adult 26: <i>5</i>
Aged	7		81	35-36: <i>0'6</i>	Aged 27: <i>2</i> PersAp 60: <i>2</i>
Town Total	185		3900	37-38: <i>2'3</i>	Grand Max 28: <i>5</i>
Males	97		2264	39-40: <i>1'9</i>	Males 29: <i>5</i> PhysH 62: <i>2</i>
Female	88		1636	41-42: <i>1'7</i>	Females 30: <i>4</i> Rec 63: <i>8</i>
I	35		600	43-44: <i>1'2</i>	I 31: <i>4</i> Rel 64: <i>0</i>
II	105		2236	45-46: <i>1'9</i>	II 32: <i>5</i> Soc 65: <i>6</i>
III	42		1014	47-48: <i>1'4</i>	III 33: <i>4</i> MECHANISM RATINGS
N-G	3		50	49-50: <i>0'5</i>	N-G 34: <i>4</i> AffB 66: <i>9</i>
POPULATION (number)				PERFORMERS (number)	
Town Child 51-53: <i>0'4'3</i>				Town Child 35-36: <i>0'1</i> Manip 68: <i>7</i>	
Out Child 54-56: <i>1'8'7</i>				Out Child 37-38: <i>0'0</i> Talk 69: <i>9</i>	
Total Child 57-59: <i>2'3'0</i>				Tot Child 39-40: <i>0'1</i> Think 70: <i>4</i>	
Town Total 60-62: <i>1'8'5</i>				Town Total 41-42: <i>5'3</i> GEN RICH 71-72: <i>2'3</i>	
Out Total 63-65: <i>9'3'7</i>				Out Total 43-45: <i>2'4'9</i> PRESSURE RATING	
Grand Total 66-69: <i>1'1'2'2</i>				Grand Tot 46-48: <i>3'0'2</i> Children 73: <i>4</i>	
Grand O.T. (code) 70: blank				Perf/Pop 49-50: <i>2'7</i> Adolesc 74: <i>2</i>	
Total Duration 71-73: <i>0'3'1</i>				Aver. No. 51-52: <i>8'4</i> WELFARE RATING	
Average Attendance 74-77: <i>0'0'2'4</i>				Adolesc 76: <i>3</i> Children 75: <i>0</i>	
Average Attendance 78-80: <i>3'6'3</i>				AUTONOMY RATING	
				vtd 79: <i>7</i>	

AUCTION SALE

A few behavior settings of the genotype Auctions Sales, Household Furnishings and General Merchandise, occur in Midwest every year. Five glimpses of them are presented: (a) essential elements of the program of the genotype, (b) photograph of an auction in Midwest, (c) public notice of an auction sale, (d) précis of the behavior setting genotype Auction Sales in Midwest, (e) copy of the data sheet of one auction, as prepared for the research.

a Program of Genotype 10, Auction Sales. Samuel Baker, founder in 1744 of the London auction house of Messrs. Sotheby and Company, drew up a set of five conditions of sale, four of which constitute the essential elements of auction sale programs in Midwest. They are as follows (Baker started as a bookseller; hence the reference to books):

- 1 That he who Bids most is the Buyer, but if any Dispute arises, the Book or Books to be put to Sale again.
- 2 That no Person advances less than Sixpence each bidding, and after the Book arises to One Pound, no less than One Shilling. [The principle that the advance in bidding is in proportion to the amount bid applies in Midwest.]
- 3 The Books are in most elegant Condition, and supposed to be Perfect, but if any appear otherwise before taken away, the Buyer is at his Choice to take or leave them. [The buyer in Midwest has two minutes to examine an article; if it is not as represented by the auctioneer it may be returned.]
- 4 The Books must be taken away at the Buyer's Expence, and the Money paid at the Place of Sale, within Three Days after each Sale is ended. [Articles must be paid for on the day of the sale in Midwest.]

b Photograph of Auction Sale. The photograph is a record of the Midwest behavior setting Household Auction Sale. It exhibits most of the behavior setting characteristics exhibited in the photograph of High School Boys' Basketball Game. Differences between these behavior settings as revealed by the photographs are:

- 1 The boundary of the Auction Sale is less definite than the boundary of the Basketball Game; it is not marked by a physical structure as it is in the latter setting. However, a definite boundary zone can be seen within which the standing pattern of the Auction Sale changes to the different patterns of the adjacent genotype Trafficways, and the non-public, family behavior settings.
- 2 The shape of the standing pattern of the Auction Sale is very different from that of the Basketball Game; it resembles the pattern of iron filings in a magnetic field, whereas the pattern of the Game reminds one of a cell with partitioned, internal subparts.
- 3 The synomorphy of the milieu and behaviour is evident in both pictures; but the synomorphy of the Auction is in the nature of behaving inhabitants infiltrating the milieu, whereas that of the Game appears to involve tensions between salient milieu parts (e.g. the playing court) and inhabitants (e.g. spectators) that separate but position inhabitants vis-à-vis the milieu.
- 4 According to the pictures, the pattern of the Auction Sale is more uniform and repetitive than that of the Basketball Game; less variety is evident in the behavior of the Auction inhabitants than in the behavior of the Game inhabitants.
- 5 Some action patterns and behavior mechanisms recorded in the Auction picture differ from those appearing in the Game picture: Personal Appearance, Gross Motor Activity, and Manipulation are less in evidence in the Auction, and Verbalization is more in evidence.

c Public Notice of Auction Sale. (See announcement.)

d Précis of Genotype 10, Auction Sales, Household Furnishings and General Merchandise, Midwest, 1963-64.

Milieu: located in either residential or business area in buildings and surrounding yard areas; behavior objects are furniture, household items, tools etc., clerk's book, cash box.

Standing pattern: consists of one synomorph, auctioning, bidding, and buying.

Program (and penetration) of performers: sellers (5) determine what is to be sold, arrange for display of articles to be sold; auctioneer (5) determines order of sale, calls for bids, sells to highest bidder; clerks (4) record bidder and accept payment. Program of other inhabitants: customers (3) bid, pay clerk, remove purchased articles, converse; onlookers (2) watch, converse.

e Data Sheet of Auction Sale

Name: <i>Household Auction Sales</i>					
Genotype # 1-3: <i>0'1'0</i>		Genotype Commonality # 8: <i>0</i>		Locus 16: <i>1</i>	
B S # 4-6: <i>0'0'1</i>		Authority System 13-14: <i>9'9</i>		No. of Occurr. 17-19: <i>0'0'2</i>	
Genotype Date 7: <i>3</i>		Class of Authority Systems 15: <i>1</i>		Survey # 20: <i>5</i>	

Occupancy Time of Town Subgroups				Max. Penetration of Subgroups		ACTION PATTERN RATINGS	
Group	No. P	Hours	OT Code	Group			
Inf	2	4	21-22: <i>0'2</i>	Inf	21: <i>1</i>	Aes:	53: <i>3</i>
Presch	6	12	23-24: <i>0'3</i>	Presch	22: <i>2</i>	Bus	54: <i>7</i>
Y S	4	8	25-26: <i>0'3</i>	Y S	23: <i>2</i>	Prof	55: <i>6</i>
O S	5	8	27-28: <i>0'3</i>	O S	24: <i>4</i>	Educ	56: <i>0</i>
Town Child	17	32	29-30: <i>0'5</i>			Govt	57: <i>0</i>
Adol	3	9	31-32: <i>0'3</i>	Adol	25: <i>4</i>	Nutr	58: <i>2</i>
Adult	47	178	33-34: <i>0'8</i>	Adult	26: <i>5</i>		
Aged	22	66	35-36: <i>0'6</i>	Aged	27: <i>4</i>	PersAp	60: <i>1</i>
Town Total	89	285	37-38: <i>0'9</i>	Grand Max	28: <i>5</i>		
Males	45	146	39-40: <i>0'8</i>	Males	29: <i>5</i>	PhysH	62: <i>0</i>
Female	44	139	41-42: <i>0'7</i>	Females	30: <i>4</i>	Rec	63: <i>3</i>
I	6	20	43-44: <i>0'4</i>	I	31: <i>5</i>	Rel	64: <i>0</i>
II	61	210	45-46: <i>0'9</i>	II	32: <i>5</i>	Soc	65: <i>5</i>
III	20	45	47-48: <i>0'5</i>	III	33: <i>4</i>	MECHANISM RATINGS	
N-G	2	10	49-50: <i>0'3</i>	N-G	34: <i>3</i>	AffB	66: <i>4</i>
						GroMot	67: <i>6</i>
POPULATION (number)				PERFORMERS (number)		Manip	
Town Child		51-53: <i>0'1'7</i>		Town Child		35-36: <i>0'2</i>	
Out Child		54-56: <i>0'1'5</i>		Out Child		37-38: <i>0'0</i>	
Total Child		57-59: <i>0'3'2</i>		Tot Child		39-40: <i>0'2</i>	
Town Total		60-62: <i>0'8'9</i>		Town Total		41-42: <i>0'7</i>	
Out Total		63-65: <i>1'4'1</i>		Out Total		43-45: <i>0'0'5</i>	
Grand Total		66-69: <i>0'2'3'0</i>		Grand Tot		46-48: <i>0'1'2</i>	
Grand O.T. (code)		70: blank 71-73: <i>0'1'3</i>		Perf/Pop		49-50: <i>0'5</i>	
Total Duration		74-77: <i>0'0'0'8</i>		Aver. No.		51-52: <i>0'7</i>	
Average Attendance		78-80: <i>0'9'8</i>				Adolesc	
						76: <i>0</i>	
						AUTONOMY RATING	
						wtd	
						79: <i>9</i>	

PUBLIC SALE

At the John English home on north corner of Warren and Cherokee St. One block north and one block west of the Baptist Church in Midwest, Kansas.

SATURDAY, JUNE 25

STARTING AT 2:00 O'CLOCK P.M.

Electric Cook Stove	2—Stand Tables
Refrigerator	Bookcase
China closet	Small stand
Buffet	2—Dressers
Round dining table	Chest of drawers
2—Gas heating stoves	3—Iron beds, springs & mattresses
Ironing board	Floor Lamp
Divan	Maytag Washing Machine
2—Rocking Chairs	Few dishes and misc. items.

JOHN ENGLISH

Terms: Cash
Jack Mund, Auctioneer

Not responsible for accidents
Darlene Romney, Clerk

Activity 8 Behaviour setting description

For this activity, choose a behaviour setting in which you can be a non-participant observer, i.e. an occupant of Zones 1 or 2 of the penetration zones. Those of you who are teachers might choose to observe a classroom setting. Your task in this activity is to identify and describe the behaviour patterns of the settings. To do this, you will need to spend half an hour to an hour observing the operation of the setting and making notes of the behaviour that occurs.

In particular, you should concentrate on the functional positions of the inhabitants, describing their functions in terms of the zone of penetration they occupy, the occurrence of different behaviour mechanisms and the physical milieu and behaviour objects which support the standing patterns.

The two examples of behaviour setting descriptions given in this text illustrate the way your description should be made; you might also like to look at Appendix 2 (pp. 96-9) which shows an English student's approach to this activity.

Allow about 1 hour on this work.

Behaviour settings: internal dynamics

- 4-45 So far, this section has been concerned with an outline of the definition of settings and an exploration of their variable attributes and mechanisms. The identification of settings as supra-individual entities leads to the conclusion that while individuals enter into settings on their own terms, and realize their individual goals within them, settings per se have goals and patterns that exist at a level above those of the individual inhabitants.
- 4-46 Settings operate according to programmes that determine and control the standing patterns of behaviour of the inhabitants such that the entity of the setting is maintained, and its goals are achieved. People in a setting conform

to the standing patterns: their behaviour within and across settings is conforming, but not uniform. Settings demand different performances from their inhabitants, who seem in general to be remarkably compliant to the forces of behaviour settings. This is so in contrast to the behaviour objects of a setting: Barker suggests that people in a setting serve as the 'media' of that setting—they transmit and communicate the forces that maintain the integrity of the setting. Media are characteristically flexible – they take on patterns as required.

- 4-47 It is this sense, of people as the media of a setting, that they serve as channels for the circuits that maintain a setting, and thus the number of inhabitants of a setting is a crucial variable in determining the extent and nature of forces that impinge on individuals within the setting. Settings vary from time to time, on a *level of manning* continuum: their population fluctuates. Settings with a paucity of inhabitants relative to their normal level are *undermanned*; settings operating at their normal level of population are *optimally manned*; and settings that have an abnormally high level are *overmanned*. As will be shown later, the effects of these levels are far reaching in their consequences for the determination of a variety of effects on the individuals within the setting. First, however, it is necessary to consider the mechanisms that operate within a setting to realize its programme.

Goal circuits

- 4-48 Individuals participate in settings to realize their goals; thus, a setting continues to exist only if the inhabitants are at least minimally satisfied in this respect. Individuals are thus connected into settings to the extent that they perceive routes within the setting that lead to the satisfaction of their personal goals. These circuits must align with the programme circuits of a setting: those patterns that realize the programmes of a setting. Thus, two mechanisms operate within the setting: operational mechanisms that occur when individual and setting requirements align, and maintenance circuits that serve to maintain this alignment.
- 4-49 These maintenance circuits operate in two main ways: by countering deviations within the setting or by vetoing individual components. Deviation-countering occurs when repairs are made to behaviour objects or when individuals are brought back 'into line'. They are brought into action when some goal circuit is disrupted by a component. Another way that settings deal with such deviations is to *veto* the problem component: by rejecting it from the setting. Vetoing mechanisms are brought into action when a recalcitrant person or object is eliminated by exclusion. Examples of the four mechanisms, G-MECH (goal mechanisms), P-MECH (programme mechanisms), D-MECH (deviation-countering) and V-MECH (vetoing) are given below from records made in Midwest.¹

Goal Circuit

12:10 p.m. Mary indicated that she wanted something else to eat by a string of words apparently unintelligible to her parents.

She pointed toward the table, raising her voice slightly as she spoke.

Her father started to give her some meat.

She became more upset than before. The meat definitely was not what Mary had in mind.

Her voice changed to a whine. She kicked her feet against the foot rest on the high chair. She was demanding and impatient.

¹Adapted from Barker (1968) pp. 168-71.

By lifting each dish in turn, Mr and Mrs Chaco found it was a jello salad that Mary wanted.

Her father immediately gave her a helping of salad.

Mary seemed pleased, but took this as a matter of course.

Programme Circuit

1:52 Miss Rutherford said, 'All find your places.'

Steven stood next to Herbert.

Steven exchanged a playful remark with Oran.

Miss Rutherford started to give out the instruments, castanets, triangles, tambourines, drums and cymbals.

Cymbals were suspended from straps by which they were held.

1:53. Miss Rutherford handed a cymbal to Steven.

When all the instruments had been distributed, Miss Rutherford asked that, first of all, they all stop talking.

Steven struck his cymbal lightly with his fist.

Deviation-Countering Circuit

Miss Rutherford went to the corner of the room and came back with a number of long red pencils and said, 'We are short of some parts of the instruments so we have to make do with these, to improvise.' Each child who had a cymbal was given a pencil to tap it with.

Steven took his pencil matter-of-factly.

1:45. Miss Rutherford said to the class, 'You never saw a real band playing all slumped over, leaning on things; now let's stand up straight.'

Vetoing Circuit

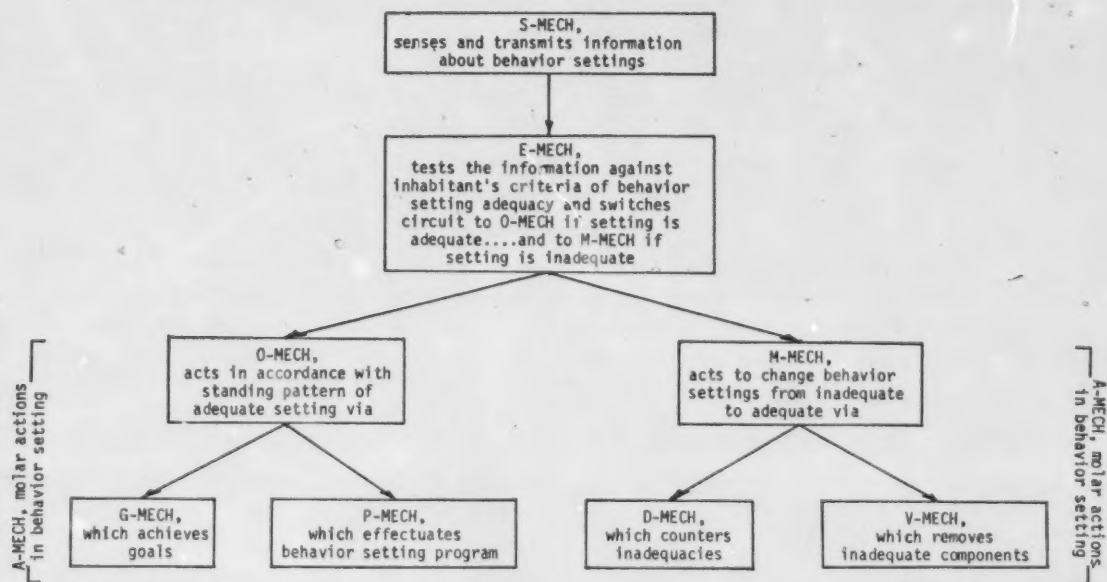
2:10. Miss Rutherford commanded, 'Pick up your instruments.'

Oran was acting silly.

Miss Rutherford said, 'Evidently you do not wish to play in our band, Oran.'

She took his cymbal away from him and gave it to Selma Bradley. The string holding her triangle had broken and she was without an instrument. Miss Rutherford put Oran on the far side of the piano away from the class.

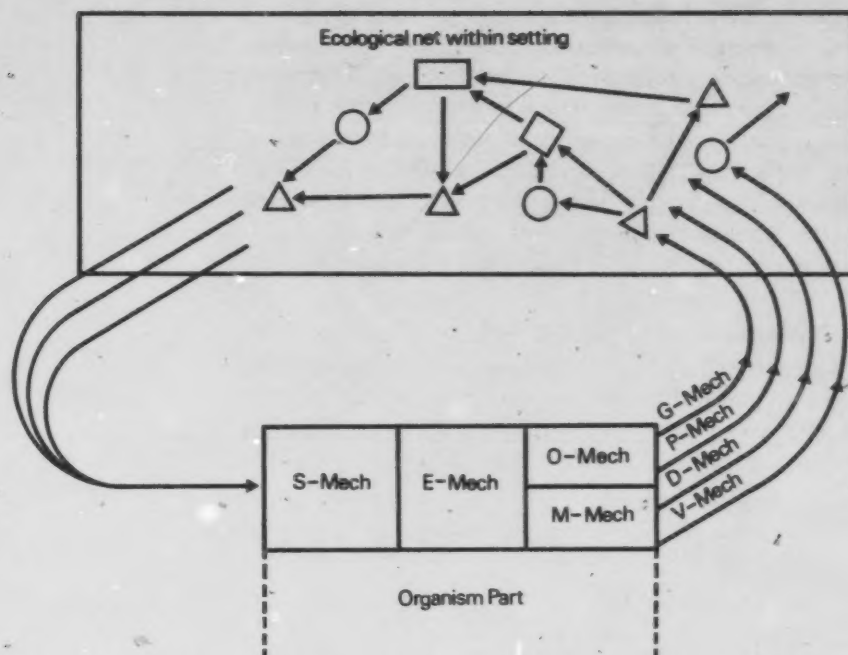
Figure 11



Source: Barker, R. G. (1968) p. 170.

67

Figure 12



Source: Adapted from Barker, R. G. (1968) see pp. 172-3.

- 4.50 To complete the analysis of settings as incorporating control mechanisms that preserve its integrity, that make it homeostatic, it is necessary to deal not only with the operational and maintenance circuits, but also with circuits that sense the patterns of a setting and the extent to which they deviate from or realize the programme, and with circuits that execute the necessary O-MECH or P-MECH. These mechanisms complete the requisite *feedback* circuits that allow settings to manifest their adaptive properties, are labelled respectively S-MECH and E-MECH (see Figures 11 and 12).

Activity 9 Behaviour setting dynamics

For this activity, as for Activity 8, choose a setting in which you do not have to participate. Observe the setting for a period of a quarter to half an hour, and make as detailed a record as possible of the interactions between the individuals: this will probably be mainly verbal if you choose a classroom.

The aim of making this record is to carry out an analysis of the interaction in terms of the four mechanisms operating in the setting:

Programme mechanisms (P-MECH)

Goal mechanisms (G-MECH)

Deviation-countering mechanisms (D-MECH)

Vetoing mechanisms (V-MECH)

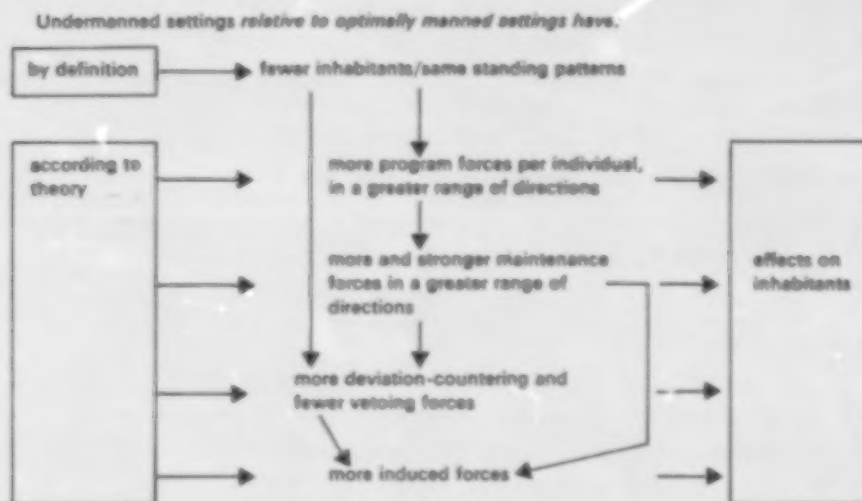
You will probably be able to categorize some of the interactions as you make your notes, but when you have finished your observation, go through the record you have made, and analyse each part into one of the above categories. You might also like to refer to the protocol in Appendix 2 (pp. 96-9) which shows an English student's approach to this activity.

Allow about 30 minutes on this work.

Consequences of manning level variation

- 4-51 Variations in the number of inhabitants participating in the setting have effects on the individual members. For undermanned settings, fewer people are available to maintain the standing patterns: thus their level of performance will, in general, increase. In addition, the forces that maintain the setting, M-MECH and O-MECH, will be distributed among fewer people. The balance of V-MECH and D-MECH will shift towards the occurrence of D-MECH, since to lose more components (via V-MECH) will further add to the load on the remaining components. Below a certain level of manning, the setting will cease to be able to maintain its full programme and will either reduce its programme or cease operating.
- 4-52 Thus, individuals in an undermanned setting will experience greater forces to participate in the setting, and will tend to receive more deviation-countering forces and be less likely to be vetoed. In a school class, which is in some ways not a typical setting in that full vetoes are rarely given to individuals, the consequences of undermanning are for an increase in deviation-countering forces.
- 4-53 Within a setting that is overmanned, however, the above effects will be reversed, i.e.
- 1 There will be more V-MECH than D-MECH.
 - 2 Levels of individual performance will decrease.
 - 3 Individuals will experience fewer forces to participate. Figure 13 below sums up the effects of undermanning on the inhabitants of the setting.
- 4-54 In undermanned settings, the individuals are more likely to be able to satisfy goals that include being wanted or needed, being active and responsible and taking control over parts of the settings. In settings that are overmanned, however, they are more likely to derive satisfaction from more peripheral mechanisms. In a number of studies¹, it has been found that as the size of an organization increases (as measured by population) then, in general, so do the number of available settings. However, the increase in number of settings is consistently *less* than the population increase. The prediction is that these settings will tend to be overmanned rather than undermanned.

Figure 13



Source: Adapted from Barker, R. G. (1968) see p. 184.

¹Indik (1963, 1964, 1965); Porter and Lawler (1965); Wicker (1968); Barker and Hall (1964).

- 4-55 In summary, then, the major outcome of the foregoing analysis is one that is not a simple commonsense assumption: it is that as organizations increase in population, the settings which are available to this population do not increase by the same amount. Secondly, the roles of people in the settings of larger organizations will tend towards more peripheral roles in general.

5 Behaviour settings and the issue of school size

- 5.1 While the theory of behaviour settings and their dynamics have many general applications in the understanding of schools and the operations of their settings, a particular point of relevance that has received specific study is in the general effects of variations in school size. According to behaviour setting theory, smaller schools should tend to 'draw' more pupils into the more central zones of participation, and extra-curricular settings should exert greater forces on pupils to attend and involve themselves. In contrast, larger schools should show *opposite* effects to the above. This prediction is, in general, confirmed by studies carried out, in and across schools, with this factor in mind (Barker and Hall, 1964; Gump and Friesen, 1964; Campbell, 1968; Willems, 1964, 1965).

Forces exerted on inhabitants

- 5.2 A study by Willems (1964) examined the numbers of 'reasons or pulls' felt by students in the behaviour settings of five high schools varying in size. He concentrated particularly on the differences between regular students and 'marginal' students: those who had low IQ, poor performance and parents of low socio-economic status, and who tended not to continue into higher education. Students' experiences of personal and external pressures towards settings were obtained by individual interviews and ratings. The study found, as predicted by the theory, that students from the smaller schools experienced more of both types of pressure. While the marginal students in the smaller schools experienced the same levels of pressure as regular students, in the larger schools they experienced significantly fewer than the regular students. The study was repeated in 1965 with a new set of students, with the same results (Willems, 1965).

Participation and satisfaction

- 5.3 Barker and Hall (1964) surveyed the extra-curricular attendance records of thirty-six high schools varying in size, and found that, again, the attendance in the larger schools was significantly less than in the smaller. A study by Campbell (1968) of three secondary schools in Queensland, Australia, varying in size and number of settings available per student, found that the smaller school, with more settings available to each student, exerted greater pressure on students to participate, and that students experienced greater responsibility within the settings. In addition, the students in the smaller school experienced more satisfactions relating to cultural goals. Gump and Friesen (1964) compared one large school's junior classes (794 juniors) with four small classes (less than forty juniors in each) and found that the pupils in the smaller classes participated on average in twice as many responsible performances. These pupils also reported more satisfactions deriving from being valued by others, by making significant contributions and meeting challenges, than the pupils from the larger classes, who reported more vicarious, spectator satisfactions.

- 5-4 Thus, it would seem that many of the requirements for meeting educational goals, the achievements of students and their involvement and participation in schooling, together with their satisfactions in school, are negatively related to increases in school size. While a general implication of this might be that any trends towards amalgamating and consolidating schools should be resisted, an alternative, more adaptive solution might be to foster the development of small, autonomous units within larger schools (see Plath, 1965), to counter the otherwise negative effects.
- 5-5 Reading B below discusses the implications of the above research for various forms of school organization.

Reading B The issue of size - R. G. Barker¹

A basic problem for the immediate future is to investigate the degree to which the relations we have discovered between school size, school settings, and student participation are inevitable. Not only the present research, but all other research known to us, indicates that the negative relationship between institutional size and individual participation is deeply based and difficult, if not impossible, to avoid. . . . It may be easier to bring specialized and varied behavior settings to small schools than to raise the level of individual participation in large schools. Furthermore, the current method of broadening educational offerings by moving hundreds of bodies to a central spot may be both unnecessary and old-fashioned. Already a technical revolution with respect to teaching devices and educational facilities is upon us. Self-teaching machines, taped school courses, TV classes, wired TV linking separate schools, new ideas about teaching personnel (e.g. school aides), new conceptions of interschool co-operation (e.g. transporting teachers and equipment rather than students), new conceptions of the contributions of the community to educational objectives, and new materials and standards for school construction are freeing schools from past molds.

These new developments, taken with the findings reported here, provoke the question: how large should a school be?

The present research, in itself, cannot answer this question. Some of the crucial variables such as academic learning were not investigated. Furthermore, 'should' in this query implies purpose, and educational purposes differ. For example, if versatility of experience is preferred over opportunity for specialization, a smaller school is better than a larger one; if specialization is sought, the larger school is the better. Although a definite answer to the size question cannot be given, the theory developed here can be helpful in deciding particular issues. It often happens, in these days, that population increase in a given area requires sharply increased high school facilities. One solution to this problem lies in the expansion of the facilities and enrollment of the existing school. Our findings show that among the results of this policy is a decrease in responsible student action and experience. A second solution is the establishment of a number of new small schools, thereby keeping enrollments relatively low. A third approach is the campus school, an arrangement by which students are grouped in semi-autonomous units for most studies but are usually provided a school-wide extra-curricular program. The campus school provides for repeated contacts between the same teachers and students, this continuity of associates probably leads to closer social bonds. A commonsense theory is that the campus school welds together the facility advantages of the large school and the social values of the small school. But the social values of small schools reported in the present research do not rest upon associate continuity; they rest upon low population per setting, a condition difficult or impossible to achieve in the school-wide extra-curricular programs of large campus schools. A fourth solution, then, would be another arrangement of the campus school, for example, making the separate units autonomous with respect to voluntary activities as well as for most classes.

¹ Reprinted from Barker, R. G. and Gump, Paul V. (1964) *Big School, Small School*, Stanford University Press, pp. 200-2.

Commonsense theories about schools are not adequate bases for policy decisions. Another example of this is the commonsense assumption that there is a direct coupling between the facilities or properties of schools and the behavior and experiences of students. This simple view of reality, so common in education, has been long passed in physical and biological sciences. No one would seriously argue that because one bridge is stronger than another the individual beams of which it is constructed must also be stronger. Good facilities provide good experiences only if they are used. The educational process is a subtle and delicate one about which we know little, but it surely thrives on participation, enthusiasm, and responsibility. Our findings and our theory posit a negative relationship between school size and individual student participation. What seems to happen is that as schools get larger and settings inevitably become more heavily populated, more of the students are less needed, they become superfluous, redundant.

What size should a school be?

The data of research and our own educational values tell us that a school should be sufficiently small that all of its students are needed for its enterprises. A school should be small enough that students are not redundant.

6 Nottingham

- 6.1 Sections 6 to 8 of Block 3 take the theory of Sections 1 to 5 and extend it into a consideration of life in one city, Nottingham, which is in many respects a typical British city. We describe, firstly, its general characteristics, its history as a settlement and its pattern of growth, and its current educational provision. Secondly, the three television programmes associated with this block of the course look at three families living in Nottingham, and explore their *niches* within the city.
- 6.2 The three families we filmed were chosen at random, except that we looked for families with a fair age-range of children so that we saw children at various points in the school system, as well as some who had left school. All the families were relatively settled residents of Nottingham, and their particular living area. As such, they could meaningfully be said to have adapted to their locality and developed their own characteristic *niches*: areas and places that they visit and use frequently, differentiated from those that are unknown or seldom visited.
- 6.3 The families all live in housing estates in Nottingham, and while Nottingham has typical inner-city problems, with slum areas, high immigrant populations and old city-centre schools, nevertheless, many people in Nottingham feel that some of the estates present as many, and perhaps more 'entrenched' problems compared to the inner-city ring.
- 6.4 Before moving on to describe these aspects in detail, you will find it useful to read the paper by Herbert F. Wright, who collaborated with R. G. Barker in the first phase of the field research (Barker and Wright, 1955) out of which developed the behaviour setting theory which has already been described. In this paper, behaviour settings as they exist in urban areas are discussed and some implications are drawn out for the 'living space' of children living in cities. This paper, 'Urban space as seen by children of school age' is printed in the Supplementary Material for Block 3.

Nottingham: historical introduction

- 6.5 Nottingham, as a permanent settlement, dates from the ninth century AD, when the first town boundary, a defensive ditch and wall, was built around the

area. In 1068 William the Conqueror came to Nottingham and ordered the building of a castle on a hill to the northwest of the town. Originally, this was probably a wooden fort, but by 1131 had become, at least in part, a stone building, and continued to be used as a royal house for more than 500 years.

- 6.6 According to records in the Domesday Book (compiled around 1086), there were at that time 120 burgesses, suggesting a total population for the town of about 6800. When the Normans came to the town and built and fortified a castle, they established a further settlement between the Castle Rock and the Anglian burgh. As a result of this, the town became two burghs, one predominantly English and the other French. As the area developed its trading role, a central market place was built on the boundary of the two settlements. In 1284, Edward I granted a charter right to the town to choose a single mayor, with a bailiff for each burgh. A later charter, in 1449, made the town both town and county of Nottingham with its own sheriffs and established its independence from the counties of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.
- 6.7 The trades of mediaeval Nottingham were chiefly cloth making, wool dyeing, farming, brewing and iron working; with some digging for coal. A grammar school was founded in the town in 1401, and was augmented and reformed in 1513 by Dame Agnes Mellors. For many years, this went under the name of the Free School, later changed to the Boys' High School.
- 6.8 From the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century, the town continued to increase in population, mainly consisting of rural immigrants drawn to the city by its developing range of industries, including pottery, glassmaking and brickmaking. The Corporation had for many years opposed the annexing of the common land surrounding the town for building (a sort of mediaeval 'green belt' policy), and this resulted in very high population density. Given the building standards of the time, and inadequate provision of drainage, this resulted in many areas of the town having appalling slum conditions, some of them openly referred to as 'rookeries'. Nottingham was one of the towns most affected by the industrial revolution in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The stocking frame, invented by William Lee in 1589, which could be worked in the smallest house, was extensively used in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Nottingham. Among others, Richard Arkwright set up his mechanized spinning frame in 1768 in the town, and James Hargreaves introduced the Spinning Jenny in 1770. These inventions led to a vast increase in production, with the building of large factories and extensive accommodation for working families. The accompanying poverty and increase in slum conditions were so bad that the average life expectancy in some districts was less than twenty-five years.
- 6.9 Luddism and the subsequent agitation for Parliamentary reform was strong in Nottingham, and following the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, the 400-year rule under royal charter was replaced by a council elected by the ratepayers. One of the first acts of this council was to extend the town boundaries by passing a series of Enclosure Acts between 1839 and 1845. In the succeeding years, the town then expanded and more houses were built, partly to house colliery workers, as by then the coalmining industry was occupying a large proportion of the town's labour force. In 1887, D. H. Lawrence described these houses as 'small, begrimed, with black slate roofs for lids, sharp angles and a wilful blank dreariness'.
- 6.10 In 1897, the borough was raised to the status of a city, and by the end of the nineteenth century, the population had reached 250,000 compared with 28,000 in 1801, and the town covered more than 10,000 acres. The foundations, too, had been laid for the engineering, tobacco and pharmaceutical industries which still dominate employment in Nottingham.

Nottingham: the present day

- 6.11 Nottingham today is still a city in which industrial employment dominates, the main industries being cigarettes and tobacco at the Player factories, and the production of bicycles at the Raleigh works, and Boots pharmaceutical industry, as well as numerous textile and light engineering industries.
- 6.12 The city is situated on fairly level ground, surrounded to the north, east and west by more hilly country. The River Trent, which is navigable as far as Nottingham, and connects with the canal system, passes through Nottingham to the south of the city centre. Most of Nottingham lies to the north of the Trent. The city shows a strong pattern of radial growth, due in part to the history of its enclosure described above.
- 6.13 Moving out from the city centre, with its predominance of shops and businesses, one encounters an inner-ring area of old, poor housing, interpenetrated by light industries (the 'zone of transition'), in which area many of the schools are old, gaunt, Victorian neo-gothic buildings. In this ring, to the northeast of the centre, lies St Ann's, in which in 1961 only 15 per cent of the families had the exclusive use of bath, toilet and hot and cold water. In 1845, the area was used mainly for allotments, and the allotment holders each developed their land with as many houses as possible. As a result, this area became very densely populated with very little open space or facilities for the residents.
- 6.14 This housing has now been almost entirely cleared, and new housing erected, under the St Ann's Redevelopment Scheme of the Nottingham Planning Department. It is St Ann's that provided, before its redevelopment, the study by Coates and Silburn (1970).
- 6.15 Several other areas of the city's 'inner ring' of this type of 'slum' housing still exist, notably Old Radford and the Meadows districts, in one of which is located what has been called 'the worst school in the country'. Old Radford, in particular, is now an area of transient population, with a few elderly residents, the previous stable population having been moved to estates built in the 1930s to 1940s on the periphery of the city, such as the Broxtowe and Strelley estates, which will be described in detail later. The Meadows district is at present losing many of its residents, and in some streets up to 50 per cent of the 'back to back' terraced housing is unoccupied and in disrepair.
- 6.16 As a result of the many interconnected problems that have arisen on the peripheral housing estates out of the previous renewal and rehousing policies, the Planning Department, in association with other departments of the City Corporation, in particular the Education and Housing Departments, have introduced a new policy of mixed renewal and improvement.¹ Under this policy, areas such as the Meadows will now be either cleared and rebuilt, or improved, in phases, with all but the first batch of residents able to change housing within the area.
- 6.17 Between the peripheral estates and the inner-ring area, lies the more salubrious middle-class housing, which is concentrated in two 'wedges' running north from the centre around the Mansfield Road, and to the west around Wollaton Park. The Nottingham University campus occupies an extensive site in this western sector.
- 6.18 On the outside of the peripheral estates are found Nottingham's suburban commuter districts, completing the picture of the city's radial character. One qualification, however, must be added and that concerns the effect on this radial picture of the River Trent's bisection of the city. The pattern described

¹See the map of Nottingham's development plans in Folder 1 (Map. N2).

Robert

"Zero-lane
transport"





Nottingham

St Ann's: new and old



above holds true north of the Trent, but south of the river are found four areas dating further back than the 1900s. Two more recent estates, Clifton and Silverdale, dominate this area, and consist mainly of owner-occupied accommodation. These areas will also be described later in detail.

- 6.19 While the Nottingham city administrative boundaries enclose an area which is currently declining slightly in population, this area is surrounded by Nottingham's conurbations, which are administratively part of the county. These areas, in contrast to the city, are increasing in population, partly due to out-migration from the city and partly due to in-migration to the conurbation from elsewhere.

Population and employment

- 6.20 Since the Second World War, the natural increase in the population within the city's boundary (because of the higher rate of births than deaths) has been offset by the migration to surrounding urban and rural districts. When an old housing area is cleared and redeveloped with new houses, usually only the equivalent of a third or a half of the population of the original housing area can be rehoused in that area – the remainder have to be rehoused elsewhere. This is because modern standards require that people have more space both in and around their houses, together with adequate space for play and car parking. Thus, migration from the city has largely been a result of redevelopment and the lack of sufficient land within the city boundary to cater for all the varying demands for houses. The city's population rose from 307,850 in 1951 to 311,900 in 1961 and since that date it has been falling steadily – to 306,750 in 1966 and to just under 300,000 in 1971.
- 6.21 Despite this fall in the population within the city boundary, the population within the area which looks primarily to Nottingham for jobs, shopping, entertainment etc. has been increasing steadily. About three quarters of a million people now live in the urban area centred on Nottingham. Employment within the city has been increasing in line with the work force within its catchment area and the number of jobs presently totals about 180,000. Employment in manufacturing industry has remained almost constant during the past ten or fifteen years but during this period there have been rapid increases in the service sector, particularly in shops and offices. Having always enjoyed a well balanced range of industrial and other employment opportunities, Nottingham has never suffered extreme unemployment, the rate usually being at or slightly below the national average.

Transportation

- 6.22 In October 1972, the City Council adopted a new transportation policy designed to strike a balance between the claims of the pedestrian, public transport, the commercial vehicle, the private car and conservation of the environment. The policy requires considerable investment in public transport so that improved services can be provided as an alternative to the motor car, especially for journeys into the city centre. These improvements mean severe restrictions on the use of private cars at peak traffic periods. The movement of goods vehicles is vital to the functioning of the city centre and the policy allows access for goods vehicles at all times with provision for loading and unloading outside peak periods. However, commercial vehicles cannot be allowed to cause avoidable environmental damage and the policy therefore provides for their movements to be controlled or restricted where this is necessary. Shoppers

and businessmen will be able to use motor cars outside peak traffic periods, but, as part of the policy, new road building will be set up along with 'park and ride' facilities to encourage commuters to use public transport inside the area within the inner-ring road.

- 6.23 Jeremy Bugler, writing in *The Listener* of 7 June 1973, comments on this policy that:

Today, city-planners who are trying to thread, or simply to smash, motorways through the fabric of cities like Newcastle or Bath or Edinburgh or Glasgow or Belfast get one name constantly thrown back at them when they insist that rings or radials of dual-carriageway are essential to the future of the city. The name is Nottingham, and it is bandied by objectors to urban motorway building because the city is the first in Britain wholly to abandon the idea of building new roads and wholly to commit itself to solving traffic problems by management: by replacing the orthodoxy of more-cars-therefore-more-road-space with techniques of restraint and control.

- 6.24 In keeping with this policy, Nottingham has provided a central district free bus service, or 'zero-fares transport' as the planners like to call it. This service carries up to 42,000 passengers per day, linking shopping centres with car parks and bus stations, and is subsidized at a cost of £27,000 by the general rate fund of the city.

The city centre

- 6.25 Nottingham city centre is currently experiencing a period of rapid change. Two new shopping centres (Victoria and Broad Marsh) were opened in 1972. A considerable amount of new office building is taking place. The Trent Polytechnic, on the edge of the centre, is undergoing rapid expansion. The Victoria and Broad Marsh Centres are two of the largest and most significant commercial redevelopment schemes in the history of the city. Both are multi-level shopping centres with vehicle movement separated from pedestrian movement along 'indoor streets' which are protected from the weather. There is substantial car parking provision and also ready access to bus stations. Together, they will add considerably to shopping floorspace in the city centre and are expected to increase the importance and attractiveness of the city as a regional shopping centre.
- 6.26 At the Victoria Centre, shopping areas are at ground- and first-floor level with service access and 1650 car parking spaces beneath. At the second-floor level, the roofs of the shops are to be landscaped as an amenity area for the 464 Corporation-owned flats above. The centre also contains office accommodation, the Corporation's covered and open air retail market (to replace the old one on King Edward Street) and some entertainment facilities, together with restaurants and licensed premises. The Broad Marsh Centre is at the southern end of Lister Gate, a street which contains several national multiple shops and which has been converted to a pedestrian shopping street. Shopping floorspace is primarily at ground-floor level with direct covered access to the bus station and a 1200-space car park. Two further secondary shopping levels lead to a frontage on Middle Pavement. Co-ordinated with the commercial development are extensive roadworks incorporating a new highway between Broad Marsh and Weekday Cross.

Educational provision in Nottingham¹

- 6.27 The City of Nottingham Education Committee provides full and part-time education for a school-age population of some 61,500 (including nursery) and for another 20,000 students in further education. For the year 1973/4, the Committee has a net expenditure of approximately £16 millions out of a total city net expenditure of approximately £30½ millions. Education is easily the most extensive and expensive service provided by the local authority, but although the Education Committee provides most of the educational facilities in the city there are also other sources.

Preschooling

- 6.28 In 1973, Nottingham had 5013 three-year-olds (born in 1970), and 5444 four-year-olds (born in 1969). Of these, 819 (16.3 per cent) three-year-olds, and 2056 (37.8 per cent) four-year-olds were in full- or part-time nursery education provided by the Education Department. There were three nursery schools, but the majority of places were provided in nursery units and classes attached to primary schools.² This practice is strongly recommended by the Department of Education and Science and upheld by Nottingham Education Committee because not only do most children attending nursery school then avoid a change in school when they reach the primary stage (thus enabling educational development to be planned from age three through to junior school), but also it is cheaper to provide and maintain nursery facilities within primary schools than in separate nursery schools.
- 6.29 In addition, the Social Services Department provides eight day nurseries with places for 320 preschool children. Projected replacement and building plans for the ten years until 1983 will provide a total of sixteen nurseries and 785 places through the social services.
- 6.30 Circular 2/73 (nursery education) indicated that national planning for nursery education provision was to be based on the following formula:

three-year-olds: 15 per cent full-time
35 per cent part-time
four-year-olds: 15 per cent full-time
75 per cent part-time

Using this formula, existing and programmed places would provide 445 full-time and 2080 part-time places, i.e. 2525 places in total. But on the basis of the 1970-72 birth returns, this means deficiencies in the city of 4537 places in 1974/5 and 4635 places in 1975/6.

- 6.31 The city has been divided into areas, and an analysis made of the future provision needed in each area, based on: (1) current lack, e.g. the estimated need of Clifton, with no provision at present, is 380 full-time places; and (2) on future population estimates for those areas where there are housing redevelopment schemes, e.g. the future need of Rise Park/Top Valley is estimated at 180 full-time places. To achieve the target set in Circular 2/73 by 1982, it is estimated that 500 full-time places will be required each year, and for each of the first two years (1974/5 and 1975/6), a bid has been made for 700 full-time places.³

¹I am indebted to Mr D. J. W. Sowell, Acting Director of Education, for providing the information on which this section is based.

²Four of the existing twenty-eight nursery units/classes have been provided through the Urban Aid Programme. Some special nursery provision is being made for ESN, physically and mentally handicapped children, as recommended by the DES in Circular 2/73 (Nursery Education).

³One full-time place can equal two part-time places, so more children will be accommodated than it might appear.

- 6.32 In addition to the LEA and Social Services nursery classes, there are a large number of preschool playgroups organized on a voluntary, fee-charging basis. The LEA provides courses for the training of personnel for these groups, and the Social Services Department has the responsibility for assisting them. Circular 2/73 envisaged the continuing development of playgroups, with assistance coming from the LEA, but the City Education Committee prefer their current arrangements, and state: 'Once free nursery schools and classes are widely available to the three-year-old and four-year-old school population then the playgrounds may prove less attractive'.¹

Primary education

- 6.33 Under the new comprehensive scheme in the city, primary schools continue to cater for the five-eleven age-group. In January 1973, the city had 117 schools for this age-group:

Table 9

Voluntary Roman Catholic	9
Voluntary Church of England	4
County all-through primary	27
County primary with separate infant and junior departments under different heads (32 x 2)	64
County infant only (up to seven/eight years)	5
County junior only (seven/eight to eleven years)	8

The city has eight schools designated as EPA since 1968, of which four have been newly rebuilt and a further two are due for replacement by March 1974. A further thirty-eight schools (including the four Player schools) have been designated 'other deprived' by the Acting Director of Education, and have had Urban Aid resources directed towards them.

- 6.34 Well over half the schools in Nottingham have been built since the Second World War, and almost a third since 1960. Generally speaking, the schools built after the war meet the requirements of the Schools' Regulations for School Provision, although the older schools, especially in built-up areas, often lack adequate playing field space. Of the few really old ones left, almost all have been substantially remodelled or are programmed for replacement in the next few years. Due mainly to the large-scale housing clearance projects in progress, Nottingham is well advanced in its replacement of old primary schools.
- 6.35 Pupils usually attend their nearest primary school, with tight catchment areas available wherever possible. The average class size in each school at January 1973 showed the following variation:

Table 10

Schools	Range	Mean
All schools (117)	20.5 to 39.9	31.00
EPA schools (8)	23.0 to 32.4	26.7
Other deprived (38)	20.5 to 34.9	30.00

¹Quoted material and figures in this section come from City of Nottingham Education Committee, *Report to Primary and Sites and Buildings Sub-Committees, Appendix*, March 1973.

Plans for a free school

- 6.36 A group of parents, teachers and students, living in different parts of the city, are trying to set up a free school in Nottingham. They plan to take about thirty children – their own and others – of both primary and secondary age, and to run the school along the lines of the White Lion Street Free School, Islington, in London. At present, they are raising money and looking for premises in the inner city – the exact location is unimportant since the school is intended to serve the whole city, not just a small area of it. The group is also seeking support from the LEA, so far without success.

Secondary education: twentieth-century development¹

- 6.37 In the first major reorganization of the city's schools after the First World War, all-age schools were replaced by a system of infant and junior schools for pupils up to the age of eleven, and non-selective senior or central schools for boys and girls of eleven upwards. Three selective secondary (present-day grammar) schools also existed.
- 6.38 The 1944 Education Act inaugurated the next major period of change, with grammar school places made more readily available, and the setting up of technical schools and modern schools. The school-leaving age was raised to fifteen, and, in addition to providing the necessary extra accommodation, substantial progress was made in replacing and re-equipping old schools.
- 6.39 In 1957/8 the bilateral system was introduced in the city to help meet the inadequacy of the secondary selection procedure. All the modern schools were eventually replaced by twenty-two bilateral schools, each with facilities for GCE (O level) and CSE courses: pupils could transfer to the sixth form of the grammar schools on the basis of their GCE results. The bilaterals co-existed with eight grammar schools, and one large boys' comprehensive which opened at Clifton in 1958. Up until September 1972 the Education Committee also purchased each year twelve places at the High School for Boys and nineteen places at the Girls' High School (both direct grant) and awarded them on the results of the annual selection procedure and special tests.²
- 6.40 After one false start at comprehensive reorganization in 1966, the city went comprehensive as from September 1973, with a five-year plan to institute schools for pupils aged eleven to sixteen, and colleges of advanced secondary education (sixth-form colleges) for the sixteen to nineteen age-group.³ But the Secretary of State for Education and Science has approved only twenty-five of the twenty-seven proposals put forward by the LEA in its reorganization scheme, leaving two grammar schools in the south of the city which must continue to take children of relatively high ability. This creates obvious difficulties for the LEA, who are nevertheless going ahead with the scheme.
- 6.41 The denominational secondary schools are also intending to go comprehensive, but it will not be possible for the LEA and denominational changes to be synchronized. The one Church of England grammar school is to become a 'five-form entry mixed secondary school for pupils aged eleven to eighteen admitting children of a wider range of ability than at present', and the six Roman Catholic secondary schools will form four mixed comprehensive schools catering for pupils aged eleven to eighteen.

¹Material in this section on the comprehensive scheme is taken from *Comprehensive Education in Nottingham*, City of Nottingham Education Committee, September 1972.

²Fees will be paid for those who are still at these schools, but effectively under the new comprehensive scheme, this arrangement has been abandoned.

³Although the scheme begins in 1973/4, the sixth-form colleges will not operate fully until 1977/8, the same year that the first comprehensive entry to the eleven to sixteen schools complete their five-year course, i.e. no pupil who embarked on a course of secondary education before 1973 will have to consider a change of school before sixth-form level.

Rationale for a comprehensive system

6.42 With regard to the eleven to sixteen age-group, the Education Committee state:¹

The existing system of bilateral and grammar schools has not been unsuccessful. It has, however, produced an overlapping educational situation where both the bilateral and grammar schools provide courses for eleven- to sixteen-year-olds which culminate in GCE and CSE examinations. The examination successes of the more able children in the bilateral schools have always surpassed those of the less able grammar school pupils. This is inevitable, not only because of selection error, but because the most able pupils at the bilateral schools are highly motivated. The least able grammar pupils have no such motivation. Many pupils from bilaterals transfer each year into the sixth forms of grammar schools and follow A level courses.

The Education Committee have also been very conscious that while the existing scheme may have functioned smoothly, it may not have served the best interests and the particular needs of many of the urban children. Thirteen per cent of children in Nottingham's primary schools are coloured. A further significant percentage of white children come from homes without normal amenities, homes with large numbers of young children and from one-parent and broken homes. They therefore face a very real handicap in the early years of their schooling. Each year the Authority's selection procedure has shown a decline in the average performance of pupils at 10+ as families in the higher social groups emigrate into suburban private housing estates in the county. It is apparent that many children at the stage of selection have not overcome the handicaps produced by their cultural backgrounds or their home circumstances. For them selection at 10+ is untimely and unfair. Some of these children make up their lost ground during the eleven to sixteen period but it is likely that others do not.

6.43 With regard to older pupils, the Education Committee was concerned that the East Midlands had one of the lowest percentages of children staying on voluntarily at school (49.8 per cent). Low secondary performance was also reflected in the percentages of Nottingham pupils going on to higher education, as the statistics for 1970 (the last year for which national figures are available) show:

	City	National
Universities	4.92%	7.20%
Colleges of education	4.87%	5.79%
Polytechnics and further education	5.21%	7.13%

The decision to make a break at age sixteen and create sixth-form colleges specially designed for sixteen- to nineteen-year-olds, with no entry requirements, is therefore largely an attempt to increase the numbers of stayers-on, and to improve performance.

6.44 The Committee point out that if these aims are to be achieved, it is essential that a well-structured and properly applied guidance service is developed with regard to the availability of courses and their suitability for the student. Areas of overlap and of omission by the sixth-form colleges and the colleges of further education will be monitored and hopefully rectified; the two types of college are envisaged as being supportive and complementary until such time as the DES makes one set of statutory regulations covering the education of the sixteen to nineteen age-group.

¹City of Nottingham Education Committee (1972), paragraphs 1.2-1.4. The many pupils referred to as transferring from bilateral to grammar schools amounted in 1971 to eighty, and in 1972 to eighty-one, out of some 2000-2500 leavers. A further forty-two in 1971, and thirty-five in 1972 entered full-time courses in further education.

Schools for pupils aged eleven to sixteen¹

- 6.45 These are intended to offer a full programme of courses which range from those appropriate to children of the highest ability to those for children in need of remedial help; the curricula of the present bilateral and grammar schools will be altered accordingly. The schools will give particular attention to the following:

- 1 The provision of a thorough and continuing scheme of pastoral care to ensure that the educational and social development of each child is monitored throughout his career in order that sound and appropriate guidance can be given at any stage.
- 2 Ensuring that the particular needs of the urban child, both coloured and indigenous, are met. This will be achieved by additional teaching support in the schools with the largest proportions of such children and a well structured programme of in-service training for the teaching staffs. Similar attention will be paid to remedial departments.

All the schools to be used in the comprehensive scheme (except for two) have adequate facilities and their own or readily available playing fields.

- 6.46 The size of the schools will not, with one exception, be larger than 1200 (eight-form entry), and most will be smaller. Pupils will normally attend the most readily available school, unless preference has been expressed for a single-sex school (denominational schools have to have larger catchment areas). The Education Committee feel that:

... despite the differences between various areas of Nottingham they will not attempt to produce artificially balanced intakes of children by race, by social class or by ability. They feel that it is more important to establish the school in its own community than to create artificial societies for pupils of secondary school age. Where it is possible to amend local catchment areas without difficulty to achieve a wider cross-section of pupils, then this will be done. The schools for pupils aged eleven to sixteen will serve their own communities, meeting the needs of all the pupils in their own neighbourhoods, though the Committee will continue to try to meet the reasonable requests of parents for schools outside their local areas.

City of Nottingham Education Committee, 1972.

The new governing boards are intended to become 'more representative of the communities which the schools serve'.

- 6.47 The secondary school population is unstable, and is affected by three factors in particular:

- 1 The raising of the school-leaving age added 2500 students to the secondary roll in September 1973. (The provision of ROSLA units² and the adaptation of premises meets this increase in numbers.)
- 2 Bulges in the city birthrate. The largest age-group is at present (1973) in the second year of junior school and will reach the secondary schools in 1975.
- 3 Although the total city population is *not* growing, there is a constant movement of families within the city which will continue at least for the next eight to ten years, due to redevelopment. Housing clearance schemes

¹At the time of writing (Summer 1973) these schools have yet to take their first comprehensive intake, certain planning decisions have yet to be made, and all documents relate to intentions rather than practice. This and the following section on the sixth-form colleges can therefore only broadly outline how they are supposed to be.

²Raising of the School-Leaving Age.

in St Ann's, the Meadows, Hyson Green and Radford in the period 1973-1981 mean that schools in inner-city redevelopment areas become part empty (e.g. Elliott Durham in St Ann's), while others - mainly on existing peripheral estates - face a steadily increasing pressure (e.g. Player in Broxtowe) and many schools have fluctuating numbers on roll. In new areas, new schools can be provided, as at Top Valley. But it is extremely difficult to make precise forecasts of numbers and accommodation needed in any given catchment area, particularly as estimates are always subject to error arising from accelerated or delayed building programmes, changes in rehousing policy etc.²

On paper, the probable balance between accommodation in the eleven to sixteen schools and the school-age population for 1973-75 looks all right, but given the rising secondary school numbers described in (1) and (2), and the population movement described in (3) above, existing accommodation will not always be in the catchment areas where needs are greatest, and additional building programmes will be necessary.

Colleges of advanced secondary education (sixth-form colleges)

- 6.48 Three mixed colleges are to be established (first full year of operation in 1977), each with a maximum of 500 students. The present Bilborough, Forest Fields and High Pavement Grammar Schools will be used to house them, as these all have relatively new premises and adequate facilities for sixth-form courses. They are situated in the west, east and north of the city respectively; in planning, it was decided that projected numbers of sixth-form students south of the river did not warrant a college in Clifton, even though students there would be the only ones without ready access to the three colleges. However, in response to the large number of objections to this decision, the sixth form is to be retained at Fairham Comprehensive (which will become co-educational) and pupils in the Clifton area will have the choice of going there, or to a sixth-form college or college of further education north of the river.
- 6.49 The colleges will have curricula much wider in scope than those at present offered in the grammar school sixth forms and it is intended they should cater for the following needs:
 - 1 A level or equivalent courses. The size of the colleges will allow a wider choice than can normally be offered in grammar school sixth forms.
 - 2 O level courses. These may be repeated courses or fresh courses in a wide range of subjects.
 - 3 Courses to meet the syllabus requirements of any new examinations designed for the sixteen to nineteen range.
 - 4 Courses of a bridging nature to equip students to follow vocational courses in further or higher education establishments. Bridging courses for future ONC and OND students are envisaged.
 - 5 Courses designed especially for girls who intend to work in education, nursing and social services and who are awaiting admission to courses of training elsewhere.
 - 6 Courses designed to help young people to equip themselves more properly for adult life, e.g. on preparation for running a home, raising a family, filling leisure time.

²This factor obviously affects the primary school population, too, e.g. Huntingdon and Sycamore Schools in St Ann's are also depleted in numbers.

- 7 A wider range of minority time courses for students of all abilities, e.g. current affairs, both local and national; craft and design courses; conversation courses in foreign languages; sociology; government studies; music.
 - 8 Any expansion in the requirements for girls with office skills and secretarial qualifications may be met in one or more of the colleges, rather than by an expansion at one of the colleges of further education.
 - 9 A wide range of leisure activities to meet the recreational needs of the students.
- 6.50 It is envisaged that there will be a full use of the college premises for adult classes held out of school hours, and that students at the colleges will be able to use library and other study facilities in the evenings. As in the case of the secondary schools, the LEA are looking for changes in the structure of the governing bodies and wish there to be full parental, teacher and student participation.

Special schools

- 6.51 Provision for educationally subnormal pupils who have been ascertained as being in need of special education is now entirely in day special schools; no special classes are attached to ordinary schools. In 1973, 750 places for primary and secondary pupils were available. With the opening of new schools in 1975, and a certain amount of remodelling of premises and reshuffling of pupils, there will then be adequate places in post-war (or remodelled) buildings for all ESN needs.
- 6.52 Physically handicapped and delicate pupils are also catered for at the Arboretum School (senior girls, juniors and infants), while the needs of deaf and partially hearing pupils are met at the Ewing School (junior and infant) and in a specially built unit for secondary pupils at the William Sharp School. The Ewing School serves city and county. The Arboretum School is being replaced by a new 140-place school, due to open in 1974, which will also serve city and county. There are also two hospital schools, at the City (all-age physically handicapped) and at St Ann's (Psychological Unit).

School back-up services

- 6.53 These include normal items such as a school meals service, education welfare, youth leaders and youth employment officers, but also such services as:
- 1 *Teachers' Centre* This is used for courses for teachers during the year, e.g. courses on science or reading; conference on ROSLA; course on the countries of origin of immigrant pupils and their problems.
 - 2 *Teaching Aids Section* This issues films, strips, records, theatrical costumes etc. The Schools Libraries Department also loans projects, and gives advice in individual schools.
 - 3 *School Health Service* Nottingham is unusual in that it has its own School Health Service quite independent of the Medical Officer of Health. This is concerned with the diagnosis and treatment of all illnesses and handicaps which prevent children from developing normally in school. It provides medical/dental inspection and treatment, speech therapy, child guidance and a psychological service (including clinic teaching for remedial reading). School nurses work in schools and clinics, but also pay home visits.
- 6.54 Although perhaps not strictly within the category of this section, it is worth noting that, in the next phase of the Urban Aid Programme (Phase 9), the

Education Committee are considering seeking approval for the following:

home-school liaison teachers

sanctuaries for slow-learning pupils in secondary schools

youth and 'study' wings in secondary schools

teacher training

mini-buses for use by schools

Continuing education

- 6.55 Within the city there are various types of establishment providing ongoing education, run either by or in connection with the LEA.

Colleges of further education

- 6.56 There are four FE colleges, which offer O and A level GCE, and a wide range of vocational courses. The question of their relationship to the proposed colleges of advanced secondary education has been raised earlier, but at present they cater for some 12,000 part-time and 1200 full-time students.

The Trent Polytechnic

- 6.57 This provides advanced full- and part-time courses; full-time student numbers are expected to rise from some 3500 (1973) to 8000 by 1980. The Polytechnic is administered by a Joint Education Committee and is financed by the Nottingham, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire LEAs, who recover approximately 85 per cent of the running costs from the Advanced Further Education Pool, to which all LEAs in England and Wales are required to contribute by a set formula. Students are drawn from both the local area and nationally, and in 1973, 185 city award-holders attended the Polytechnic.

Nottingham College of Education (at Clifton)

- 6.58 This provides three- and four-year teacher training courses. It is administered by a governing body, and is financed by the Education Committee, who act as agents and recover the whole cost from the Teacher Training Pool to which all LEAs in England and Wales are required to contribute by a set formula. In 1973, fifty-five city award-holders attended the college; the remainder of the students (some 1270) came from outside the Nottingham LEA.

Adult education

- 6.59 Adult education provision is made by the city in a number of ways. There are eight centres based on existing schools premises, and one centre housed in former school premises. These are used by some 4000 students. In addition, recreational classes are provided in community centres and women's clubs (some 2000 students), and in the colleges of further education. The city employs a full-time organizer and a full-time area principal to supervise the work of the part-time principals of adult education centres.

- 6.60 The city also co-operates closely with the University Adult Education Centre, and the WEA. Both organizations receive direct financial assistance from the Education Committee. The LEA also provides educational classes at HM Prison, Sherwood (cost of provision recouped from the Home Office) and at Mapperley Hospital.

7 The case-studies: Television Programmes 4, 5 and 6

- 7.1 There are three television programmes associated with this block: 'Catch as catch can', 'Aiming for the top?' and 'The community spirit'. Each programme is a documentary film of the life of a family living in Nottingham, and before each film was made, the families were visited, and interviewed, to find out the extent of their *niche* in Nottingham. *Niche* as a concept was not mentioned in the interviews, but the concept was subsequently built up out of those places that the family habitually visited: the parts of Nottingham and its environs that they 'know well'.
- 7.2 These interviews having been completed, the filming was arranged to cover the major aspects of each family's niche. In addition, a repeat of the preliminary interview was filmed, in which the questions focused on education, and the attitudes towards it of each member of the family. Extracts from these interviews are shown in the films, along with interviews with headteachers from three schools attended by children of the families.

Locations

- 7.3 On the northwest side of Nottingham lies Bilborough,¹ an area of council house estates. Two of the families shown in the television programmes live in this area: the first, on Broxtowe estate, north of Strelley Road, and the second, just south of this road. The area in which this second family lives is known locally as 'Strelley' or 'Strelley estate'. While its boundaries are not as clearly differentiated as those of Broxtowe, nevertheless it does have a social identity. The third family live to the south of the city, on a private estate known as Silverdale.

Broxtowe

- 7.4 This estate was built on the periphery of the city in the 1930s-1940s to provide housing for families moved out from inner-city districts, and consists almost entirely of three- and four-bedroomed houses. As normally happens when families are rehoused in such estates, they were moved in over a fairly long period of time, and the type of housing meant that only larger families were located in Broxtowe. The estate has a reputation for being an 'intellectual wasteland', has fairly high delinquency rates, and truancy of one sort or another constitutes a major problem at the Player group of schools which serve the estate.
- 7.5 The problems of this estate can be explained in part by a positive feedback mechanism operating, which runs as follows: the initial selection of families on family size tended to concentrate 'problem' families (as defined by the social services) on the estate. As this picture built up, the estate became labelled by many Nottingham people as a 'bad' estate, further increasing the selective placement of families: those families that were able to control the allocation procedures avoided the area, and so a higher proportion of 'problem' families were rehoused on the estate. This cycle continued from the early years of the estate until very recently (1972-73), when the nature of this estate's problems was identified, and action was taken by the Housing Department of Nottingham Corporation to change their methods of allocation.
- 7.6 This is a particularly striking example of how the interrelationships between services in cities can play an important determining role in the lives of its

¹For this and subsequent locations, you will find it useful to refer to the maps of Nottingham, and Nottingham schools, in Folder 1 (Maps N1 and N2).

inhabitants: deterministic, that is, for those people whose place of residence is controlled by housing policies. Secondly, the example illustrates how changes in communication, in this case between the Social Services Department and the Housing Department, can identify and alleviate problems.

- 7.7 Broxtowe estate is badly underprovided with facilities which might encourage residents to meet and establish community ties. It has one small parade of shops, insufficiently close to most of the residents, and one youth club at the local church hall. The estate's centre, Denton Green, is a large round patch of ground, sparsely covered with grass. In the evenings, the periphery of this green, and the street corners around it, are a meeting place for the young people of the estate. The Planning Department of the City Council carried out a short survey of Nottingham's community areas and related facilities in 1972,¹ and as a result of this survey, will shortly be erecting a 'Community Point' on Denton Green.
- 7.8 Houses on this estate are semi-detached and have front gardens and privet hedges surrounding them. As many of the residents come from terraced streets in Radford and other similar areas, their life-styles include 'front door' meetings as an important community function, and the new layout of housing mitigates against this. Nevertheless, there is still a lively street life on some streets of the estate. Because of the lack of shopping facilities, a number of mobile vans serve the estate, selling vegetables, meat and other groceries.
- 7.9 The total population of the estate (in 1971, was 7100 persons, in 1937 private households. The vast majority of the houses (98.1 per cent) are owned by the Council. Unemployment on the estate runs at about twice the average for the city as a whole: 10.1 per cent as compared to 6.4 per cent for the city. The estate is not particularly well served by bus routes, meaning that many people have to walk some distance to a bus stop. Since less than half of the families own cars, many families are isolated on the estate. When a house on the estate falls vacant, its windows and doors are boarded up, as common practice, to prevent damage from vandalism. Despite the description above, which paints a generally bleak picture of the estate, some streets are well kept, and there are signs of neighbourliness. One can see, for example, where one resident keeps a neat and clean garden, and those either side do so, but not as well, and where in some streets these 'pockets' of care for the environment have spread so that a whole street of gardens is well cared for. Nevertheless, the family we studied on this estate openly called it 'a slum' and felt that the Radford community spirit was virtually non-existent on the estate: 'You just say hallo and go your own way; nobody would know if you dropped dead.'

Strelley

- 7.10 Strelley, situated just south of Broxtowe, and separated from it by a major thoroughway, is much smaller, having just half as many residents. While the houses themselves are very similar in the main to Broxtowe, the streets show more variety, and both houses and gardens are better maintained. The unemployment rate, at 5.7 per cent, is lower than the city average, and the estate does not have the bad name that Broxtowe has. If anything, the area has positive values, and the positive feedback that occurred on Broxtowe is not replicated on Strelley. While there are no shops on Strelley itself, the smaller size of the estate makes it easier for residents to visit local shops.

¹This survey is to be complemented by a more extensive survey in 1973-74. The results of the first survey are shown on the map of Nottingham in Folder 1 (Map No).

- 7.11 As on Broxtowe there is a lively street life, and 'across the hedge' gossip groups can be seen on any fine day. The sense of a 'Strelley community' is pronounced, and is represented in the recent building of the Strelley Community Centre which is on the south side of the Broxtowe estate. This centre was built on local initiative by the Strelley Residents' Association, a 'grassroots' group that was formed naturally, not by the City Council, and provides a bar, bingo, variety acts and other communal recreation. As on Broxtowe there is very little provision for children's play, and on both estates children are only able to play in the streets, in each other's homes, and on car parks and open ground. While there is, again, on Strelley a problem over public transport, more of the families on this estate own their own cars. On both estates the families are predominantly working class.

Silverdale

- 7.12 The estate, built in the post-war years, lies to the south of the River Trent and the Clifton estate, and the main road from Nottingham to the South passes the estate on its eastern edge. The estate has only one access road into it, and is physically rather isolated. Silverdale is a Wimpey estate, and most of the houses are two-storey detached houses with large well-kept gardens. The total population of the estate is 2500 persons living in 768 households (in 1971), and the vast majority of houses are privately owned (95.6 per cent). The population of the estate is predominantly middle class and most own their own cars. A particular fashion on this estate is caravan ownership and many gardens have a caravan parking space. These caravans are mainly used for weekend trips and short holidays in the surrounding country.
- 7.13 The estate is badly lacking in shopping facilities, and the residents have to travel some distance to shop. The majority of the working population work in more central parts of Nottingham, so this estate is halfway between a peripheral estate and a commuter suburb, although it is on a bus route. A play-group exists on the estate, run by local volunteers, and equipped and serviced from fees paid by the mothers that use it. The family studied on this estate could find no grounds for criticism, except on the part of the children who criticized the lack of 'anything to do in the evenings'. Naturally, one would expect most of the residents to be satisfied with their location, as they have chosen to live there.

The Player group of schools

- 7.14 Situated in the centre of the Strelley estate, and occupying a large campus, is the Player group of schools, with a total pupil population of approximately 2500. There are two primary and two junior schools, and a secondary school on the site. They all have the same catchment area, taking children primarily from the Broxtowe and Strelley estates.
- 7.15 The secondary school is one of Nottingham's 'bilateral' schools having in each year two 'grammar' streams, other streams and a 'remedial' stream. This streaming is based on ability and teachers' recommendations. The schools are faced with many interlinked problems in coping with the children from the two estates. Many of the children come from broken homes, or homes where the father is out of work or in gaol. Since many of the mothers work, truancy, especially for girls, is less real truancy than child-minding in preference to schooling, supported by the parents' needs.

7.16 The secondary school uses corporal punishment, as the headmaster of the school feels that 'if it's fair, and if it's done properly, then the children, in fact, accept it quite well', and it seems likely that similar methods of punishment are used in a fair proportion of the pupils' homes. Children living on Broxtowe and Strelley, with few exceptions, spend their entire school lives on the Player campus. To compensate for this, and for the fact that few children from the estates travel extensively off the estate outside school time, the schools organize out-of-hours meetings on the campus: Scouts, Guides, a youth club, and run a lunch-time discotheque. The schools have their own small bus which takes children out to camp in the country, and there are regular weekly visits to the nearby Beechdale Baths for swimming instruction.

7.17 The head of the Player Secondary School, Mr Dowell, feels that the relative isolation of the Bilborough estates, Broxtowe in particular, produces a narrow, inward-looking viewpoint in the children:

I think there's a great underestimation by the pupils of their own ability. Because they see their neighbours, friends and fathers and mothers going into particular jobs. And, since they haven't the experience of a wide range of jobs, or a wide area where different jobs are done, then they tend to restrict themselves.

One approach to overcoming this, at the secondary level, is followed by a team teaching group, within the area of humanities, who involve the pupils in historical and social studies of various other parts of Nottingham.

7.18 The schools on this campus do not have extensive contacts with parents, although the headteachers of each school encourage such contact. Nevertheless, the general attitude of parents whose children go to one or another of the Player schools is that the school should be left alone to do its job. The major point of direct contact between schools and parents comes at the end of term, when meetings are held between teachers and parents.

High Pavement Grammar School

7.19 This school is situated on a large campus with its own sports field in the Bestwood district to the north of Nottingham. It has a total pupil population of 710 and the catchment area draws on thirty junior schools from the northern part of the city, above Gregory Boulevard. Selection for the school is based on eleven-plus type examinations; the Nottingham City Tests, weighted 50-50 with school assessments.

7.20 The school operates a 'broad-banding' ability-based system of limited streaming such that four ability bands exist in each year. Thus, with a population in each year of approximately 120, class sizes run at about thirty for the first three years. In fourth and fifth years, selection and specialization for O level examinations occur, reducing average class size, and forty-five to fifty pupils each year go on to university or university-type courses. All sixth-form pupils take A levels, most taking three or four.

7.21 The school has a very active PTA system, with approximately ten meetings each year, of which five are devoted to parents of children in a particular year, where they can meet with their children's teachers and discuss their work. There is also a Parents' Open Day in the summer term when pupils' work is on display and discussion with teachers is possible. Some of the PTA meetings are run as seminars with speakers on such topics as problems of adolescence, educational psychology etc.

- 7.22 Under the Nottingham comprehensive scheme, the school will become, in four years' time, solely a sixth-form college. In 1974 or 1975 the school will start to admit girls (at present it is single sex, male) so that it will begin to make up its co-educational population. While most of the present pupils are, inevitably, middle-class, there are some who come from working-class homes. The headmaster realizes that these pupils are in some sense 'deprived', perhaps of written material in the home, but believes that they do not constitute a problem, provided there is 'willingness to learn'.
- 7.23 The school utilizes Nottingham's cultural facilities extensively, organizing theatre, museum and other visits quite frequently. The school also emphasizes sport, and dramatic and musical aspects of the curriculum: there are house plays at Christmas, plus operas and concerts. There are a range of societies: science, chess etc. The school also runs a spring fair which raises money for the school.

Clifton Hall Girls' Grammar School

- 7.24 This school is situated on the western edge of Clifton, near to the River Trent, and is quite close to the countryside that surrounds Nottingham. The school opened in 1958, and occupies a Tudor manor house, and additional buildings provided by Nottingham Education Committee. At present it has over 500 girls, who are the top 15-25 per cent out of Nottingham's selection tests at eleven-plus. These tests comprise two verbal reasoning and one 'practice' test, and are weighted 50-50 with teachers' recommendations.
- 7.25 Clifton Hall and Mundella are the only two grammar schools in Nottingham which will remain after comprehensivization. Part of the reason for Clifton Hall's retention is the vigorous PTA resistance to the threat of the school's closure. Under the reorganization that is accompanying comprehensivization, the school's catchment area has been redrawn, and now draws almost exclusively from the Clifton area, whereas previously it took girls from further north as well.
- 7.26 While the school has experimented with 'friendship' groupings in the first years, based on primary school membership, this has not proved wholly satisfactory, and the first years are now divided into four alphabetical 'bands'. The only ability-based streaming now occurs in the third and subsequent years for certain subjects such as maths. Approximately one half of the girls stay on for sixth-form education, and the school has an interesting policy of taking some eighteen to twenty girls each year into the sixth form from other schools, mainly comprehensives. These girls are recommended by teachers at the other schools, and get a 'second chance' at the school. Many come in with minimal paper qualifications: for instance, one girl came into the sixth form from a comprehensive with only CSE maths, and is now reading medicine at university. Almost all of the upper sixth go on to university or some other form of higher education (about twenty to thirty girls per year).
- 7.27 The PTA has recently been strengthened, as a result of its efforts to have the school retained as a grammar school, and besides regular meetings on school matters, organizes social functions for parents. Three parents are voting members of the school's board of governors, and one of these has been elected as vice-chairman of the board. This board also has two pupil 'observers', elected by the girls.
- 7.28 Most of the girls at the school are strongly 'city-orientated' looking to the centre of Nottingham for their social and leisure activities. This is due, in the main, to the fact that most of their parents previously lived closer to the city centre.

The school makes a conscious effort to 'compensate' for this orientation by taking advantage of its rural surroundings, and visits to the country, and the local farms, form an important part of the curriculum.

The Marshall family: Television Programme 4, 'Catch as catch can'

- 7-29 The Marshalls, the family featured in the first of the three films, live on the Broxtowe estate. They were rehoused there fourteen years ago when part of Old Radford, where they used to live, was cleared for rebuilding. The parents still look back nostalgically to their life in Radford, and regret the loss of neighbourliness that accompanied their removal.
- 7-30 Harry Marshall, the father, is a toolsetter at the Raleigh factory, and works relatively long hours, as he has to be at work before the operators arrive and has to leave after everyone else. His wife, Connie, spends her time in the house, looking after the children, and her main activity outside the home is visiting Bulwell Market, some miles to the east, to buy food. She is an avid radio listener: 'It goes on first thing, and stays on all day, except when I go shopping.'
- 7-31 Harry and Connie have six children: the two eldest boys are both married, and Trevor, one of them, has moved back into a part of Radford that has not been redeveloped. Trevor has moved into higher education after working for some years, and is currently studying for his HND in engineering at Trent Polytechnic. Harry is also continuing his education, and is on a day-release management course at Clarendon College. He was previously a shop steward, but had to give it up when he started this course.
- 7-32 All the other four children are at school: Alan, who is sixteen, was selected to go to High Pavement Grammar School, and this involves him in several miles' travel to and from school every day on a school bus. The other three children are at the nearby Player group of schools. Teresa, who is six, goes to the Player Infants' School; Andrew, twelve, and Katrina, fourteen, both go to the Player Secondary School.
- 7-33 Although both Harry and Connie value education highly, and view it as a chance for their children to 'get out of the slum', they do not have a great deal of contact with the school. The contact they do have is at the two or three meetings held each year between parents and their children's teachers at the school. They welcome this opportunity to see their children's work and discuss their progress with the teachers. They are less happy with the system of parent-teacher contact at High Pavement, Alan's school, where they feel intimidated by the size of the meetings: 'There was fifty-two teachers round in a square sitting on the inside, and the parents was doing a "catch as catch can" to try and get an interview with the individual teachers.'
- 7-34 Part of the reason for their low involvement with the schools is a feeling that they do not understand modern methods: 'Education today is a lot different to what it was when we was at school.' This attitude has been confirmed on at least one occasion by one of their children's teachers: 'We got jumped on didn't we once for - we happened to mention that we'd attempted to learn one of them something and she says - oh, you mustn't do that, your way of teaching them is entirely foreign to the way we teach them. . . .'
- 7-35 Nevertheless, both parents make efforts to prepare their children for schooling, by teaching them their ABC, and to count. The Marshalls' evenings are almost always spent at home, and television viewing is clearly an important part of their evening leisure. The children rarely go out in the evening, and all of them bemoan the lack of anything to do, or anywhere to go in the even-

ings. The local youth club has a reputation for the Marshalls as being 'rowdy' and 'rough', and they do not allow their children to visit it.

- 7.36 This family's niche is very small; they rarely travel outside the estate, except for occasional weekend car rides into the country, Harry's journey to and from work, Connie's visits to Bulwell Market and Alan's journeys to school. They make little use of facilities outside the estate, and the lack of them on the estate makes them keep to their house. Apart from Alan, whose schooling at High Pavement has led him to aspire to university, the children do not look far ahead educationally, or to employment opportunities. The lack of neighbourliness also affects them: Connie, talking about friends on the estate, says 'You just say hallo and go your own way; nobody would know if you dropped dead.'

The Richardson family: Television Programme 5, 'Aiming for the top?'

- 7.37 The Richardson family lives to the south of the city, on the Silverdale estate. They have a detached house with a small, well-kept garden. Like the other two families they have lived in the Nottingham area for many years. As the Silverdale estate is a private development company estate, all the residents are there by choice. The Richardsons are no exception and, in general, like the environment the estate provides. To a visitor the estate seems relatively isolated, and like Bilborough lacks many facilities such as shops and pubs. Nevertheless, this impinges little on the adults, particularly the fathers, because nearly all of them own cars and many work in the city centre.
- 7.38 David Richardson, the father, works right in the city centre, close to the Victoria Shopping Centre. He drives into work every day. He has his own business there, being a dental technician. This work involves making plates, braces and artificial teeth to the specifications of dentists. The company has a wide service area, extending overseas. David has several technicians working for him.
- 7.39 There are four children in the family: Simon, who is four years old, Jane (twelve), Helen (fifteen) and Mark (seventeen). Jane goes to Clifton Hall Grammar School, a short busride to the north of the estate. Helen is at the nearby Farnborough Secondary School, and Mark, who left Fairham Comprehensive last year, is now working for Plessey Telecommunications in Nottingham, assembling telephones.
- 7.40 Mrs Richardson is separated from David, but lives nearby, and the children all spend time with her. She helps to run the local playgroup, a voluntary organization set up and funded by mothers on the estate. Simon spends two days a week there, and this is a conscious policy on the part of his parents to prepare him for school: 'it teaches him independence and how to communicate with other children; I think it really does prepare him for school. I wish it had been available when the other children were younger.'
- 7.41 The niche of this family is the largest of the three families filmed: both in size and in variety. David takes the children out into the country most weekends, sometimes using his caravan so that they can go further. They travel several miles to do their weekly shopping at a 'hypermarket' and David goes to a dancing club in Nottingham city centre most weeks. He is also an enthusiastic member of a ciné club and goes to meetings at the club centre, which is near Bilborough, again most weeks. Jane is very interested in ballet and has been going to ballet classes in the city centre for two years; she has passed three ballet examinations. The three older children often go into the

city centre with their father or by themselves on Saturday mornings to look around the shops.

- 7.42 Helen's main interest is horses and, especially during the summer, she spends many of her weekends helping out at riding stables in Cotgrave, some miles out into the country south of Nottingham. She has been doing this for some years and is considering working with horses full time after she leaves school, although she realizes that the pay is likely to be poor. The other alternative she is considering is secretarial training. Helen's father hopes that she will continue her education, and go on to a college of further education. David's attitude to education is that he would prefer it if all of his children could go to grammar school and go on to higher education: 'Keep on at school or anything to do with that as long as possible; aim for the top'. Jane is hoping to go to university to study English, and would like to go on to do something with drama; she has acted in many of Clifton Hall's school plays.
- 7.43 Life on the estate for the three older children is not all it could be; they feel the lack of things to do in the evening. Although there is a local community centre with a youth club, Jane in particular found it 'so boring. They don't really do anything. You know, I mean they just sit there for ages then you suddenly do a game and then you sit there for ages again'. Jane, of course, has her ballet classes; Helen and Mark go to a club in the city centre occasionally, or meet friends locally.

The Attenborough family: Television Programme 6, 'The community spirit'

- 7.44 The Attenborough family live on the Bilborough estate, just south of the Strelley Road, a major thoroughway that runs down to the city centre. This part of the estate is known to its residents as 'Strelley' and, as mentioned earlier, there is a stronger sense of a 'Strelley community' than for example on Broxtowe. Although most of the houses on this part of the estate are similar to those on Broxtowe, they are, on the whole, rather better kept. The Attenboroughs' house has a larger garden than most, and this is carefully looked after by Cliff and Margaret, the parents of the family.
- 7.45 Cliff is a bricklayer and works for a firm of sub-contractors on sites in and around Nottingham. At the time of the filming, he had been working for some time on a group of new houses not far from where he lives. He likes the variety of the job and the opportunity to work in the open air, although he does not particularly want his two sons to follow him into the same sort of work.
- 7.46 Mark, who is seventeen, is nine months out of school. He spent his whole school life at the Player group of schools; he remembers his early years there as 'pretty rough' but feels that it 'calmed down slightly'. Mark was head boy of Player Secondary, and when he left went to work at one of Nottingham's major industries, the Player works. He is at present serving an apprenticeship and is on block release to the People's College, where he is studying electrical engineering. This training is in four-week periods, three per year. When Mark was at Player Secondary, he started a pop group with three of his friends, and they have kept this up since then. At first they practised in each others' houses, but now use a room at a nearby community centre. The group has started to play at engagements such as dances and at welfare and social clubs. Mark would consider taking it up professionally if the group becomes successful, after he has finished his training at Player's.
- 7.47 Lynne Attenborough, who is twelve years old, and Tina, five, both go to the Player campus, as does Glenn, who is nine. Tina is in Player Infants, Glenn in

Player Junior and Lynne is in the grammar stream at Player Secondary. At one time Lynne wanted to be an air hostess, but she has not been too successful at languages and is now thinking of training as a hairdresser when she leaves school, as she expects to in four years' time. Glenn is a member of the school choir, and Lynne belongs both to the school band and the Guides group at the school.

- 7.48 Glenn, Lynne and sometimes Tina play with friends in a nearby car park, the only readily accessible play area. Glenn in particular would like more to do in the immediate area. The family as a whole do travel fairly extensively around Nottingham: Margaret, who shops locally during the week, goes down to the Victoria Centre with Cliff and the children in the family car to do the weekend shopping. At weekends in the summer the family sometimes go out together to the country for a picnic. Most of Cliff's and Margaret's time is, however, spent locally. Margaret has an evening job in the toy department at Raleigh, which fills her evenings from 5.30 to 9.30. She does this job to bring in extra money, but does miss spending the evenings at home.
- 7.49 The Attenboroughs, particularly Cliff and Margaret, have a strong sense of social community in their area: they have many friends locally, and go to the Strelley Community Centre two evenings a week for drinks with their friends, bingo, variety acts and darts matches.
- 7.50 While Cliff and Margaret do not have the high educational aspirations that, for example, David Richardson has for his children, their attitude is supportive of their children's education and they 'expect them to go as far as they're able The main thing is that they're happy and they get a job that, you know, suits them.' Both parents take an interest in their children's homework and go to the parent-teacher meetings at the Player schools, which they find useful, feeling that suggestions they make are taken account of. The family as a whole is satisfied with its environment, except that the younger children do feel a lack of settings for out-of-school activity that is more than just playing in open spaces.

8 The three films: while viewing

- 8.1 The main function of each film is to illustrate the niche of each family in Nottingham: its extent, its variety and the way in which it impinges, in particular, on the education of each family's children. While viewing the films, you should consider how these factors relate to each other, looking in particular at how the parents' educational attitudes and aspirations for their children are reflected in the patterns of their life. You could compare each family on the basis of how well they prepare their children for school, and support their progress.
- 8.2 A second important consideration that should be borne in mind while viewing is the constraints that the location of each family – its immediate locale – places on its children's activities and how these also relate to their education.
- 8.3 Each film has an excerpt of an interview with a headteacher from one of the children's schools: you could usefully consider how far their attitudes towards any special problems they face match up to the lives of the children as shown in the films.

Appendix 1 Suggested answers to Activities 1-7

Activity 1

- 1 Set up special rooms in the school for immigrant children, keep them out of normal classrooms and concentrate on caretaking and disciplinary approaches.
- 2 Change the school's normative, linguistic and evaluative framework to incorporate the children.
- 3 Employ bilingual teachers, construct a curriculum and activities that span both cultures.

You might like to consider what, for you, are the merits and demerits of each of these alternatives.

Activity 2

- a The two areas differ in the environmental stresses they place on individuals living in them: those under greater stress are predisposed to commit deviant acts.
- b The two areas differ in the extent to which they attract residents who are criminal and violent.

Alternative explanation A third explanation might be that the violent crimes are not necessarily committed by *residents* of the area, but that one area has poorer police surveillance, or more high-income residents suitable for 'mugging', and that violent criminals therefore travel to these areas to commit their crimes.

Activity 3

PPA is not a *meaningful* measure of population density as it impinges on individuals. One would expect more meaningful measures to concentrate on the average numbers of persons per room, or numbers of structures per acre. In addition, a PPA measure takes no account of the distribution of housing within an area: the residents might all be packed into one crowded high-rise block in a parkland, or spread out in a number of housing structures.

Activity 4

'Social disorganization' includes a number of variables, each of which is not necessarily highly correlated with the others. It is not therefore a unitary concept, and is rather more likely to obscure data than clarify them.

Activity 5

- a The unit must be self-generated; it must not have been set up for experimental purposes.
- b It must have clearly identifiable boundaries which delimit one set of behaviour patterns from those outside the unit.
- c It must be self-maintaining and homeostatic.

Activity 6

<i>Teacher(s)</i>	<i>Pupils</i>
a Zone 6	Zones 1, 2 and 3 (occasionally 4)
b Zone 5	Zones 1 to 4
c Zones 3 and 4	Zones 3 to 6
d —	Zone 4

Activity 7

- 1 no
- 2 yes
- 3 no
- 4 possibly – but may be part of 'geography lessons'
- 5 yes – if regular meetings in similar milieu
- 6 yes (but may overlap with other assemblies)
- 7 yes – if as (5) above
- 8 no
- 9 yes
- 10 not necessarily, if different behaviour patterns occur with different classes
- 11 yes
- 12 yes – unless they are part of 'domestic science classes'
- 13 yes – if as (5) above

Appendix 2 Sample student protocol for Activity 8

Activity 8 Sample behaviour setting description

Meeting of a Ciné Club – (held weekly) May 1973

Script-reading and writing evening

Milieu

Located in local Church Hall. Semi-circle of chairs for expected eighteen people. Chairman's table faces the circle of chairs. Chair for Chairman and Secretary.

Behaviour objects

Members' scripts; a collection of pamphlets and books for reference; furniture – chair and tables. Box for collecting subscriptions.

Standing pattern

Consists of more than one synomorph – this room is used for an unspecified number of other activities. There are in fact fourteen people present including the observer.

Chairman Zone 6

Decides on sequence of speakers. Makes opening speech to members – keeps order – formally welcomes new members.

Secretary Zone 4

Draws attention to reading/reference material.

Publicity Officer Zone 4

Reads correspondence to group members. Is referred to by Chairman/members for information.

Ten members Zone 3

Read their scripts in turn – make comments and suggestions.

One new member Zone 2

At first quietly observing and listening, eventually is moved to speak – listened to respectfully by the members.

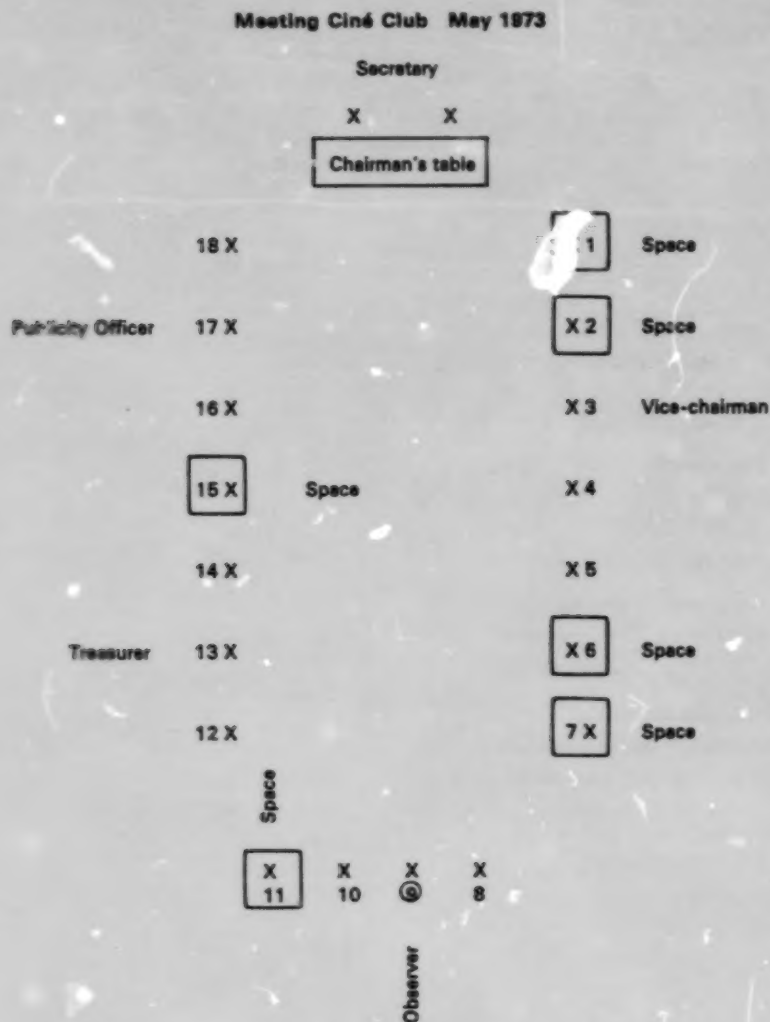
Two members Zone 3

Make tea for the group.

One member (Treasurer)

Collects subscriptions (Zone 4).

8.15 Formal set-up ready when members come.



Activity 9 Sample behaviour setting mechanisms protocol

- X Welcome
- 3 Suggestions - organizing tea
- 5-6 Deciding on tea
- 17 Correspondence - Secretary - reading letters
- 18 Treasurer moved to sit with Chairman
- Chopping the Secretary
- " " 'Printer'

} Programme
mechanisms
P-MECH

Who will hand in script first?	} Goal mechanisms
Go round in circle 4 moves swiftly to 6 ! !	
Plea from Treasurer for taking scripts seriously.	} G-MECH
3 Reads his first – sitting at Chairman's table. Borrows pen (to correct spelling mistake). Explanation by 3.	} P-MECH
16 Asking how emotions will be portrayed in the film. In the meantime 9 and 10 chatting together about films in the collection.	
14 Whisper for quiet.	} V-MECH
6 and 5 Chat together.	} P-MECH
3 Makes explanation.	
13 Makes suggestions / 16 / 10.	
14 " "	
3 Answers these odd questions.	
8.40	
Arrival of new members. Swift introduction and explanation of what's going on. Facetious remarks from members to make people at ease. Explanation from Secretary. Clap for John 13 as he finishes his script.	} P-MECH
4 Takes place of 3 and explains his script – to be a comedy situation – at traffic lights – things people do. Suggestions by 10/13/18/3/16/X/16. Answers to queries/explanations given by 4.	} P-MECH
Some chat for half a minute between members – 'buzz' then stops when authoritative statement made by 3 – elaborating on the ideas being presented.	
Chat between 12 and 13 and 10 and 9.	} V-MECH
4 Gets up and returns to seat. 16 makes further suggestions also 18 – new member listened to with respect.	
9 Moves up to front table. Puts forward <i>his</i> ideas. Listened to with respect. Then comments from 3/6/14 – then 16 tells a story. 14 and 16 are husband and wife. 14 adding and elaborating on the story. 18/14/18/3/17/3/14. Claps for David.	} P-MECH
12 'Maternity hospital' – greeted with howls of laughter. Suggestions from 16/17/4/17/18. Again elaboration and explanation from <i>Chairman</i> draws 12's contribution to a close.	
3 Takes her place at the 'top table'. 'Et tu Brutus' – café. Suggestions from members/many 'funny' remarks. Listened to quietly while script is read.	
Chairman smokes. 14 smokes. Interruption from 3, 10 smokes.	
Comments from 17/14/3 (4 and 5 leave to make tea).	} P-MECH

Discussion of previous film made by an ex-member (Tom). All bring in reminiscences of the film – both situation and technique.

- 18 Asked for his opinion, which he gives.
(Respectfully listened to.)

- 4 and 5 Bring in tea. 13 returns to her place – the Vice-chairman gives notice about home books for reference. Then another notice. During this there is some sotto voce chat among the members. People being given tea – usual chat etc.

D-MECH

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Note on reading for Part 2

The following reading should be undertaken in connection with this part of the block, preferably during your work on the text, and as it is referred to in it.

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Objectives for Part 2

At the end of this part of the block, you should be able to:

- 1 Evaluate the effects on socialization of the various groups and settings in the child's niche.
- 2 Appreciate the age-related changes in groups and settings in the child's niche as it develops.
- 3 Outline the processes of social learning.
- 4 Appreciate the importance of early childhood in social learning.
- 5 Consider the effects of the urban environment on socialization.
- 6 Draw out some implications of (5) above for urban schools.

1 Introduction

- 1.1 The purpose of this part of the block is to examine the processes by which a child becomes a social individual, and to draw out some of the effects of the urban environment on these processes. Socialization will first be considered in general terms, moving on to some implications for urban children and schools. This part draws on both British and American material and, of necessity, takes Western culture as the basis for the discussion.¹ It focuses on pre-school and early school age children, because of the importance of early socialization in the family. Increased social and geographical mobility in urbanized societies has produced a general tendency towards the isolation of the nuclear family as a child-rearing unit. Simultaneously, research has heightened an awareness of the importance of family life for school performance; as preparation for school and as supportive of school. This isolation of the nuclear family is not, of course, an universal concomitant of urbanization, because 'urban villages' within large cities where population is stable over long periods and groups such as Asian immigrants still maintain extended kinship ties.

This part of the block, and the following part, utilize concepts developed in Part 1, particularly focusing on the *ecological niche* of the child. Education, within the child's niche, is viewed as a broad learning process in which schooling is only one component, and in which socialization in non-school contexts plays a major role.

- 1.2 In Western society, at this time more than at any other, the years of childhood are a protected period for the child, in which he does not have to work, in the adult sense of the word, and in which his social responsibilities are limited by his parents. The niche of a child is determined to a very great extent by his parents: the place where they live, the friends and places that they visit, and so on. Socialization, then, is seen as the adaptation of the child to a niche that initially is small and determined by the parents, but which expands and later will become more exclusively that child's niche.
- 1.3 The basic setting for the child, the one in which most of his significant social learning takes place in these early years, is the home, and the basic relationships which fulfil the function of social education are those within the nuclear family – with the mother, father and siblings.

This period of socialization, in which the first social relationships are formed, and in which the child's basic social identity is formed, is commonly referred to as *primary socialization*, in contrast to *secondary socialization*, which occurs later in institutional and other settings outside the family.

The concept of childhood

- 1.4 Elkin and Handel (1960) point out that childhood, as a protected period in life in which learning is a predominant concern is of recent historical origin:

We discover from the work of Philippe Ariès, a sociologically minded historian, that the very notion of a distinctive period of life conceived of as childhood is of fairly recent origin. The many facts of childhood that seem so compellingly distinctive to us and lead us to differentiate the early years from those that follow did not have this impact in Western countries before about the sixteenth century. This was shown in many ways in earlier times. For example, once the infant was out of swaddling clothes, he was dressed just like 'the other men and

¹Culture is here used in the anthropological sense of the patterns of social actions, and beliefs about these patterns, that sustain society. It is not used in the restricted sense of denoting 'high culture' arts.

women' of his social class; there was no distinctive dress for children in medieval society. After the age of three or four, children played the same games as adults, including card games and games of chance for money. Documents from the early seventeenth century reveal that adults did not refrain from gestures and jokes with children that would today be regarded as immoral or perverted. Ariès notes:

In medieval society, the idea of childhood did not exist; this is not to suggest that children were neglected, forsaken or despised. The idea of childhood is not to be confused with affection for children; it corresponds to an awareness of the particular nature of childhood . . . which distinguishes the child from the adult, even the young adult. In medieval society, this awareness was lacking. . . .

In the Middle Ages, at the beginning of modern times, and for a long time after that in the lower classes, children were mixed with adults as soon as they were considered capable of doing without their mothers or nannies, not long after a tardy weaning (in other words about the age of seven). They immediately went straight into the great community of men, sharing in the work and play of their companions, old and young alike. The movement of collective life carried in a single torrent all ages and classes.¹

The awareness of childhood as a distinct period of life is, then, a historical creation. Once this awareness developed, the nature of childhood and what should be done about it became a matter of ideological controversy, and it has remained so down to our time.

Elkin, Frederick and Handel, Gerald (1960) pp. 34-5.

Some considerations in studying socialization

- 1.5 The child at birth is essentially an asocial organism: the human infant is unlike any other animal in that very little of his social development seems attributable to genetic factors. Each child born into society is faced with the task of forming, through learning, his own construction of what is acceptable social behaviour. Where genetic factors do seem to intervene is in rather general aspects of infant behaviour, such as level of arousal. Many of the detailed aspects of social adjustment, however, are culturally related. What is acceptable in one society may not be acceptable in another: social conventions are *culturally relative*. To learn how to handle knives and forks, not to talk with one's mouth full and so on, are useful social patterns in Western culture which would be unacceptable in, say, China, where the patterns that are learned are significantly different.
- 1.6 In studying socialization, it is important to postpone any evaluation of the *goals* of the process, and similarly to exclude *techniques* from evaluation. Every child is socialized, and although the patterns of social action that a child acquires early on may, at some later stage in his life, bring him into conflict with other parts of society, this is not to say that this child's socialization has been necessarily inadequate or incomplete.

The consideration of socialization processes is therefore not concerned with how children *should* behave, or with what constitutes a good social environment, but with how children *do* behave, and how the environment relates to social learning. In the terms of the ecological orientation described previously in this block, this part will be concerned with the child as an individual *learning the programmes of acceptable behaviour patterns in the context of the settings in which he actually participates*. Excluded from consideration will be the existence

¹Ariès, Philippe (1962) *Centuries of Childhood*, New York, Knopf, pp. 128, 411.

of a normative framework beyond that which actually exists in the life-space of the child. The basic assumptions are that an infant is initially amoral, that his morality is learned from those agents of social norms and values with whom he interacts, and that any notion of a general normative framework must take into account that this is mediated to the child through those people whom he knows and those settings that he experiences.

- 1.7 Culture is thus seen as being mediated to the child through the people with whom he forms his first relationships. These individuals are *significant others* to the child, and from their behaviour, and their responses to his behaviour, the child will learn how he should behave. However, this is to some extent a distorted perspective: it sees the child as being essentially plastic, and society as the active shaping principle in socialization. This perspective must be modified to the extent that the child is himself an active agent in his own socialization, and, as will be described later, also in the socialization of his parents.
- 1.8 The values, norms and folkways of the nuclear family are necessarily idiosyncratic to that family, and will, to a greater or lesser extent, vary significantly from those of the wider society. For example, third- and even fourth-generation immigrant families will retain elements of the culture of their country of origin, as a result of socialization within the family setting, particularly if there has been little intermarriage with people from the new country of residence and kinship ties across generations have been retained. Even within non-immigrant families, there is likely to be extensive variation in socialization patterns, as you will see from a reading of Chapter 4 in John and Elizabeth Newson (1963) *Patterns of Infant Care in an Urban Community* (see book), which is set reading for this part of the block. Thus, it is incorrect to view the child as being concerned in learning the consensual framework of the society as a whole in a compliant way.

The child as an active participant in his socialization

- 1.9 While some parents may treat the child in this way, aiming to create complete submission, families of this sort are hopefully becoming atypical. When mothers in the Newsons' study (1968) of four-year-olds were questioned as to what they valued in their children, 80 per cent of them valued them 'for themselves', stressing their value as individuals; only 7 per cent valued 'good behaviour' *per se*. If this is generally so, it implies that most parents value their children as autonomous individuals, not as mere receivers. Thus, childhood in our society is not simply a time of placid learning and acceptance of adult norms and values, but a period in which the child becomes increasingly *active* in making personal demands on people, and evaluating their behaviour and the morality of their actions in the light of his own wishes and moral judgements, however unsophisticated these may be to begin with.
- 1.10 Viewing the child as active and constructive from the beginning of socialization would lead one to expect that the specifics of child-rearing are subordinate to the emotional goals of the parents, and that the forms of socialization processes are only important to the extent that they represent particular attitudes and feelings in the parent-child relationship. This view is fairly well supported in research findings, which on the whole have tended to show very little relationship between such variables as weaning and toilet training, and later personality dimensions. To the extent that any clear causality has been found between child-rearing practices and personality, the general tone of family relationships has been found to be more relevant than the specifics.

- 1.11 As the child matures, he is learning in two basic areas at once: not only is he learning how adults behave, and internalizing rules of adult conduct, but also how he himself should behave, as a child of his particular age. In interaction with his parents, the first of these two areas must remain a covert, unpractised skill, the interaction being overtly based on the second area.

One of the many functions of play interaction with siblings and peers is that adult-like behaviour can be practised: witness the young girl playing with dolls; the young boy playing with toy tools. In play interaction, children's games often centre on significant adult figures, such as mothers and fathers, doctors and nurses. In this sense, the child can be said to be part of a *devised* culture, one that abstracts elements of the surrounding culture for rehearsal and learning.

- 1.12 This is one of the reasons for viewing the child as an active participant in his own socialization: he is involved in the learning and creation of social patterns of action that will not be put to practical use until later years. It is clearly insufficient in an account of how individuals become socialized to consider then, as merely learning social behaviour that is appropriate to the 'here and now' of their life.

What evidence is there for asserting the importance of these early years in the socialization process? Two areas of study are particularly suggestive in this context: studies of deprivation in early human childhood, which are dealt with in the following section, and experimental studies of the early development of animals dealt with in Section 3.

2 Deprivation in childhood

The effects of early maternal deprivation

- 2.1 A number of studies, mainly concerned with children reared in institutions from birth, have suggested that the absence of early attachment to a mother¹ has profound effects on later social and intellectual development. A series of studies by Goldfarb (1943; 1945; 1955) compared the mental and social development of groups of orphans who had been brought up in an institution from birth until the age of three before being placed in foster homes, with matched groups of children who were raised from birth in similar foster homes.

While the institution had a high standard of physical hygiene, the emotional and social environment was highly deprived: from birth until nine months, the infants were kept in individual cubicles, and their only social contact occurred when they were fed, dressed or changed by nurses. After this period, they were then kept in groups of fifteen to twenty, under the supervision of one nurse.

- 2.2 At the time of comparing these groups with the groups of children raised from birth in foster homes, the children were between ten and fourteen years old. Thus, the children from the institution had had at least seven years' upbringing in close contact with a mother and family.

When the groups were compared, the institution-reared children were retarded in general intelligence, and on tests of abstract thinking, reasoning and concept formation. In addition, 'language comprehension and speech prob-

¹'Mother' is used here as a convenient summarizing word because, although a caretaking adult may not physically be the infant's mother, he or she takes on the role of mother.

lems, as well as behaviour problems, were markedly greater in these groups. Of most importance for the present discussion, however, their social behaviour was severely affected; they were only able to form very superficial personal attachments, and were emotionally shallow, making many demands for attention and help while remaining emotionally aloof from their foster parents and others.

- 2.3 This study indicates the wide range of possible effects of early maternal deprivation, but also points in particular to the timing of social learning experiences in the child's development. The institutionalized children had, by the time they were studied in adolescence, had between seven and eleven years with a foster mother and family, and thus every opportunity of compensating for their early deprivation by the formation of meaningful and constructive relationships. Nevertheless, the period of early deprivation had rendered them unable to make the necessary developmental progression.
- 2.4 The general point that can be made from this study, which is supported by a number of similar studies of the effects of early deprivation, is that the effects typically persist into later life. Children lacking in affective behaviour in early life are likely to be handicapped in their subsequent social learning.

Contingency of stimulation

- 2.5 However, a question that can validly be asked is whether it is solely the absence of a mother that affects the child's development, or whether, in addition, it is the absence of the associated perceptual and interactional *stimulation* that produces the effects. Many studies have shown the importance of a rich and varied environment that provides the child with an adequate level of stimulation, but to identify the importance of the mother as merely arranging a rich quantity of stimulation is hardly satisfactory. Mothering involves a regulation of stimulation to the needs of the child, protecting him against over-stimulation as well as supplying extra stimulation when required. The importance of the mother then rests on her arranging *contingent* stimulation.
- 2.6 This depends upon the mother recognizing the child's efforts to communicate his needs on a moment-to-moment basis, and responding accordingly, not necessarily always satisfying the needs, but recognizing their expression. In a recent paper, 'Towards a theory of infant understanding', John Newson (1973) suggests that this characteristic of the mothering relationship is of critical importance in imparting meanings to the child:

During the first year, the establishment of a dialogue between a human infant and those who care for him throughout his waking life seems to be a matter of critical and fundamental importance. The mother or caretaker both reads-in and then reads-out meanings and intentions as significant factors which make the baby's behaviour intelligible to her. Initially, perhaps, the meanings are imputed and assumed before the baby himself recognizes them or their significance. Over and over again, events which are at first only the results of automatic action patterns, or which are even quite accidental and beyond the control of either mother or child, are endowed with significance because of the way the mother reacts towards the child in the light of the event and its effect upon him. Any event which the mother knows to have significance and meaning in her own experience, she naturally assumes could come to have a similar significance and meaning to the baby himself. If the baby startles and cries to a loud noise, she assumes he is frightened and will convey some of this meaning in her attempt to comfort him. If the baby smiles, she assumes he is pleased at something – possibly at her own approach. If he spits out food, she reads the implied message that he does not want it, and

if he grimaces in a certain way at the same time, that he actively dislikes what he has been offered. The baby will automatically emit facial expressions which his mother can readily interpret. It is characteristic not only that he yawns, sneezes, coughs and spits out food, but also that he is preprogrammed to do these things in a highly articulate and adult-like way. Possibly it is irrelevant that the meaning of his own behaviour is not initially clear to the child himself; but it is a matter of supreme importance that meaning is imputed in some reliable and consistent way, because without this the human dialogue could never begin.

Newson, John (1973) pp. 7-8.

- 2.7 In confirmation of this view, a study by Weisberg (1963) arranged contingent and non-contingent social stimulation for three-month-old infants, and compared the effects of these two conditions on the child's vocalization. The non-contingent condition was based on a prearranged schedule. In the contingent condition, the social stimulation (picking up and playing with the child) was based on the child's behaviour. It was only this latter contingent condition that had any effect on vocalization. Thus, maternal behaviour seems to be important to the extent that the mother perceives, and responds to, the child's needs in a humanly sensitive way over a period of many years - the basic requirement of a deep and enduring social relationship.
- 2.8 The essential component that is missing for deprived children is this *reciprocal* relationship: one in which the child's stimulation, both social and perceptual, is related to his ongoing activity. This necessity stresses the active role of the child in this process - a very different view to one that assumes a passive organism merely receiving arbitrary imposed stimulation.

3 Animal studies

Introduction

- 3.1 If the early years of life are so important for later social behaviour in humans, then one would expect to find that the same is true for other animals, particularly those most closely related to man. For these animals, notably the primates, the continuance of the species depends on the newborn acquiring the necessary social behaviour (but to a lesser extent than for humans). The reasons for referring to ethological studies in this context are that any findings with human development that are repeated with animals thus gain support, that animals are inherently somewhat easier to observe, and that due to their generally shorter life-span, long-term effects are seen more easily. It has been shown that for rhesus monkeys, for example, the adult female's maternal behaviour is highly dependent on the mothering that she received. Females raised in isolation, and therefore deprived of the mothering experience as infants, are unable to care for their own offspring, neglecting them and in some cases actively rejecting them or being aggressive towards them.

Similarly, males raised in isolation are unable to fit into the society of their peers who were raised normally. They become social isolates, unable to form mating relationships with females, and displaying many forms of socially inappropriate behaviour (Harlow, 1962).

- 3.2 For many animal species, there are certain *critical periods* in their early development in which behaviour essential for their later development must occur.

Perhaps the best known example of this is the phenomenon of *imprinting* (Lorenz, 1952). Imprinting occurs in geese, ducks, swans and several other species. There appears to be a critical period in which the young fixate on the image of a moving object, in normal development the mother, and from then on follow this object and no other. The classic example of this process is of birds raised by a human imprinting on this person and following him around.

Aspects of the mother-child relationship

- 3.3 Clearly, the formation of a social tie with the mother has important survival value, not only for socialization but also for the supply of the infant's basic needs, and a question that may be asked is the relative importance of these two factors. At one extreme, one can view the relationship between mother and child as being one of 'cupboard love'; the prime function of the bond being to supply physical needs: at the other extreme, the child needing the mother for purely psycho-social reasons.

While neither of these extremes is likely to be wholly true, many studies with both humans and other species show that the latter is the more plausible, and that the satisfaction of bodily needs is of secondary importance in the development of *attachment*.¹ The young of many different species will become attached to objects that have never been associated with feeding. Rhesus monkeys, for example, will become attached to a substitute 'cloth mother', to which they cling in preference to a 'wire mother' that supplies milk, only going to this wire mother for food. Young lambs have formed attachments with non-food objects as diverse as television sets and dogs.

- 3.4 Thus, the period of infancy, for humans and for other species, is one of special importance in socialization, particularly in so far as the infant is able to form a close social relationship with the significant others around him. The nature and quality of these relationships form the basis for the development of the child's social character.

4 Attachment or dependence?

The child as a socializing agent

- 4.1 If one adopts a view that an infant is basically a 'thing' to be fed, changed, kept clean and generally tended, then one is likely to view him as a being that is wholly dependent on his parents. What this way of viewing a child leaves out of the picture is the extent to which a child in turn satisfies needs on the part of his *parents*.

One of the functions of the nuclear family, perhaps the most important, is that of providing an environment for child-rearing. A family is by definition made up of parents and children: the parents' function vis-à-vis the family is one of bringing up children. Parents in all cultures expect that their children will benefit from their upbringing, that they will grow up taking on those characteristics of their parents that the parents regard as good, that they will not fail where their parents failed, and so on. Parents need and want their children not only to the extent that they are pliable recipients of their parents' provision, but also as individuals who will make good use of this provision.

¹Provisionally defined at this point as an ongoing tendency to stay close to a particular object and to show distress on separation from that object.

- 4.2 Thus, it seems important to view the necessary parent-child relationship as being dependent on the development of a reciprocal emotional attachment between the child and his parents, particularly with his mother. Danziger (1971) makes this point particularly well:

It is time we paid more attention to the child's function as a socializing agent, for 'of men and women he makes fathers and mothers' (Rheingold, 1968). Even the young infant has at his disposal two powerful means of controlling his caretakers - the cry and the smile . . . It is not only the parents who have the power of reward and punishment and the ability to impart information - even a very young infant has a tremendous capacity for rewarding his parents and at least some capacity for informing them of the things that please and displease him. After he has been on the scene for a little while, his parents are not the people they were before - their socialization has begun. It is clear, then, that parent and child form a system in which both partners control and socialize each other and both are dispensers of rewards and sources of information.

Danziger, Kurt (1971) pp. 61-2.

The abilities of an infant

- 4.3 The traditional view of an infant's abilities at birth, a view still held by many parents and only relatively recently challenged by a variety of psychological studies, is of a very limited sort. The newborn baby is seen as having very rudimentary vision and hearing, and virtually no cognitive abilities. Part of the reason for this view being held can be seen as based on the infant's definitely limited response repertoire: all one sees is a relatively undifferentiated pattern of limb movement, periods of crying, allayed by feeding, and sleeping.
- 4.4 However, studies by Fantz (1961) and Bower (1966) suggest that this view needs to be modified. In a series of experiments, Fantz studied the visual abilities of infants. Eye-movement in infants becomes quite complex, and obviously related to the visual environment, very shortly after birth. Fantz found, in presenting various types of visual stimuli together, that infants show clear 'visual preferences' for some objects over others: that they tend to look more at some and less at others.

Among the stimulus objects were drawings of human faces, some with the features 'scrambled', for both of which newborn babies showed clear visual preference. While in the earlier of these experiments, Fantz found that infants preferred the unscrambled face, later experiments showed that the existence of an early and possibly innate preference for human faces was unproved, and that in general, a preference for complexity in visual objects is the main factor. Other stimuli included grid patterns, and it was found that even at two or three days after birth, the infants' visual acuity was not much less than that of adults, since they were able to discriminate between very fine grid patterns, spending more time looking at these.

- 4.5 Bower (1966) has shown that very young children are able to form hypotheses about the movement of visual objects when they disappear behind a screen and then reappear on the other side; tracking the hidden path of the object with their eye-movements. He has also found that infants are able to learn to control their head movements when these cause lights or buzzers to operate.

The integration of visual and auditory senses seems also to be well-developed at an early age. Bower has shown that displacing a mother's voice by use of a microphone and a loudspeaker to one side of the mother (the mother being behind a transparent screen so that her direct speech does not reach the child) causes considerable distress in infants.

- 4.6 What these and other studies suggest is that the human infant has the ability to make relatively complex perceptual discriminations almost from birth: a position which is strikingly different to the traditional view of the infant as having only rudimentary sensory abilities. One of his first tasks, then, is to differentiate from all the objects around those that are his social interactors. As was suggested earlier, this differentiation appears not only to be based on the provision of bodily needs, but also in more general terms on the presence of reciprocal, contingent social interaction. This mutual need, for it is a need felt by the mother as well for the reasons outlined earlier, is clearly a fundamental precondition for the existence of any social system. The need for mothering by others of the same species is found in all higher animals.

The child's reactions to significant others

- 4.7 While, at first, the infant's need for social interaction is indiscriminate and unclearly focused, as he develops he will begin to relate to specific individuals. Some will be seen as 'positive' social objects, evoking recognition and outgoing reactions, others will be responded to by fear and withdrawal: the child differentiates friends from strangers.
- 4.8 The studies of perception in infants, referred to earlier, show the young child as being particularly interested in information-rich objects: objects that move, and change shape, and produce sounds. In addition, it has been suggested that the contingent nature of stimulation is also attention-drawing for the infant. Considering these two factors, then, in conjunction with what is probably a fairly restricted visual range in the infant, the object which is almost certain to be of prime importance for the child, by combining these three factors, is the mother, particularly her face when she is attending to the child. In addition, it is common observation that a parent characteristically attracts a child's attention to toys by contingent 'jiggling', i.e. investing them with the above properties.
- 4.9 The view of early development discussed earlier, of the child having his environment *mediated* to him through significant others, is thus sharply confirmed, in that the mother is the child's most important focus, and it is through her that the environment is endowed with meaning. If this is so, and the evidence is strongly suggestive, then this communication system (importantly *non-verbal*) between child and mother will clearly be associated with a strong social bond.

5 The development of attachment

- 5.1 Two patterns of attachment behaviour in animals have already been noted, the *following* response in certain birds, as a result of *imprinting*, and the clinging response in rhesus monkeys. These responses serve to maintain the proximity of the infant to the mother in the context of the particular ecological niches of these species. In the habitat of the rhesus monkey, which is mainly the branches of trees in forests, the *following* response would be inappropriate: the clinging response is an adaptive match between the infant's sensorimotor abilities and the circumstances of its habitat.

Attachment in infants

- 5.2 For the human child, *following* and clinging responses are not effectively possible in the first few months of life, by which time the primary attachments have already been formed. In contrast to other species, human infants display attachment behaviour that is linked to the 'distance' receptors, i.e. sound and sight. As suggested earlier, although the infant has relatively poorly-developed motor abilities, his sensory abilities are already sufficiently well-adapted to attachment patterns that operate 'at a distance'.
- 5.3 In an observational and interview study of social development in Uganda, Ainsworth (1957) differentiated sixteen stages of attachment behaviour, many of which show this distance aspect.¹
- 1 Differential crying: the infant cries when held by anyone other than the mother. This crying stops when the mother takes the infant.
 - 2 Differential smiling: the mother is more readily and more often smiled at than others.
 - 3 Differential vocalization: the infant vocalizes more often with the mother.
 - 4 Visual-motor orientation: the infant tries to keep his mother in sight, turning his head and visually orienting toward her.
 - 5 Greeting responses: the infant's activity increases, and he smiles when his mother returns.
 - 6 Lifting arms in greeting: also seen on mother's return.
 - 7 Clapping hands in greeting.
 - 8 Crying when mother leaves: the infant cries when the mother leaves the visual field.
 - 9 Climbing on the mother: the infant scrambles over his mother, exploring clothes and body.
 - 10 Following: when able to crawl, the infant not only cries when the mother leaves, but attempts to follow.
 - 11 Burying face in the mother's lap.
 - 12 Clinging: if already with the mother, clings to her if apprehensive.
 - 13 Locomotion approach: after greeting responses, the infant, if able to crawl, approaches the mother.
 - 14 Embracing, hugging, kissing: mutual affectionate responses.
 - 15 Exploration with mother as base: when the infant can crawl, he explores the environment, with the mother as a base returned to from time to time.
 - 16 Flight to mother: when frightened, the infant looks towards the mother and returns to her.
- 5.4 While this list should in no way be regarded as definitive or as representative of infant behaviour in all settings, it does illustrate the great variety of responses that children possess for expressing and realizing the primary attachment to the mother. You might like to add, at this point, other behaviour patterns that you have observed between mother and child, perhaps with your own children.

¹Adapted and simplified from the original.

Notes

Allow about 5 minutes on this work.

Communication between mother and child

- 5.5 As has already been shown, learning social behaviour is not merely an intellectual process, but is mutually bound up with emotional attachments to significant others. The first relationship in which this occurs is clearly that of the child with his mother. Every child must experience such a primary relationship to develop basic social interaction: to empathize with the mother, and to have a base of psychological security. The first relationship is special because it mediates meaningful communication between the infant and his total conceptual world, both at the emotional and the cognitive level.
- 5.6 Communication between mother and child is so basic and essential that no child is likely to survive without it and verbal language would simply not develop, if a great deal of communication did not in fact take place at the pre-verbal stage of development. Since most children do achieve an ability to speak their mother tongue, the differences between styles of communication are generally less important than the fact that a high degree of interpersonal communication is normal for most infants. In other words, styles of permissiveness or restrictiveness are mere ripples on the surface compared with the general level of attention which all normal healthy infants will demand and receive from their mothers. They do this continuously day in and day out, with an insistence which cannot often be ignored without putting their physical survival at grave risk. An emphasis on the differences in attitudinal styles towards permissiveness or restrictiveness starts from the presumption that most normal parents are benign towards their infants, and therefore that the mother is assuming that the child is definitely not suffering genuine distress when she ignores him.

6 Maternal attitudes to attachment behaviour**Styles of interaction**

- 6.1 While the patterns of attachment behaviour on the part of the child, such as crying on separation, desire for physical closeness and so on, are shown by all normal children, obviously with a certain amount of constitutional variation, the nature of the mother's general attitudes to this behaviour can vary widely. These differences in attitudes, which are naturally reflected in different

maternal behaviours, relate to the general view that the mother has of children, and their place in the family. One can distinguish, as the Newsons (1963) do, between those mothers who are typically restrictive in their treatment of attachment-related behaviour, and those who are permissive. They do not imply that these are well-defined *groups* of mothers, but rather, *styles of interaction*, and that there are also mothers who are inconsistent, perhaps trying to conform to a restrictive approach while basically feeling permissive.

- 6.2 Children in our society tend to be separated from their parents for sleep: they are put to bed early, and are expected, in the main, to learn that this is part of their role as children. As every parent knows, not all children accept this passively. Infants wake up in the middle of the night, and cry; they may not go to sleep when put down in a cot or pram, and cry. Crying, then, is one of the areas in which the child experiences social patterns and pressures, and the types of mothers described above respond differently to crying children.

The restrictive mother typically views crying as falling into two categories: crying 'for a reason' when something is wrong, the child is in pain, he has a dirty or wet nappy, he is hungry and so on; or crying for 'no reason', except to be wilful or 'crafty'. This type of mother will see the child who cries without reason as 'having her on', and her response will be to put him back to bed, perhaps with a smack, and let him cry until he falls asleep.

- 6.3 In the permissive style, however, infants are not seen as crying for nothing: crying is an expression of some need, which should be attended to, whether it be psychological or physical in origin. For these mothers, crying does not have moral overtones, and leaving the infant to cry is seen as potentially damaging to the child's emotional security.

- 6.4 The child's expression of what we have seen is a basic requirement of socialization – the attachment relationship – is responded to by the mother side of the dyad of mother–infant in ways that reflect the mother's view of the child.

Again and again we have encountered these two contrasting interpretations, both stemming from the same action on the part of the baby, and they seem to typify the basic attitudes of the two groups: the restrictive mother's suspicion of the baby as a small enemy in a continual battle of wits, the permissive mother's matter-of-fact assumption that the child's immediate happiness is her chief aim. We might perhaps go further, and say that the permissive mother looks upon crying, not as a cunning attempt to obtain indulgence, but rather as a simple act of communication, which naturally requires a response.

Newson, John and Newson, Elizabeth (1963) p. 90 (Penguin edn).

- 6.5 Most normal mothers do expect babies to make demands on them which they will generally respond to. It is only in pathological circumstances that gross attention deprivation is likely to occur. Poverty, poor housing, and inadequate emotional support can obviously be contributory factors to the breakdown of maternal care for a minority of mothers, particularly if they are unsupported by husbands, friends and relatives, in a large impersonal city (see the 'cycle of poverty' discussed in Block 2).

Effects on linguistic/conceptual development

- 6.6 Difference in styles of mother–baby communication seem to be mostly important because they may affect the linguistic/conceptual development of young children throughout the preschool years. We owe to Bernstein¹ and

¹See Block 3 of the Open University course, *Language and Learning* (E262) for a more detailed discussion of Bernstein's research.

people who speculate in similar vein, the idea that the traditional lower middle-class style of interpersonal communication (with an impoverished or restricted linguistic code) may be a poor preparation for formal schooling by teachers who rely on an elaborated middle-class linguistic code in trying to convey ideas to the children they are teaching. It is only in this context that permissive and restrictive attitudes towards child discipline become relevant to schooling. Styles of child-rearing which discourage curiosity, inventiveness, creative activity and verbalized fantasy and which put too much emphasis on discouraging rudeness, inquisitiveness and any questioning of adult authority, may again be a poor preparation for learning through activity and spontaneous verbal interaction with friendly, child-centred adults at school.

7 The family

- 7.1 So far, in this part of Block 3, socialization has been considered primarily within the context of the mother-child dyad on a one-to-one basis. Since families with one child, in which the mother gives undivided attention to the child, are the exception rather than the rule, it is important to consider socialization in a more general family context. Living in a family, the child must accommodate to the sharing of resources: the sharing of parents' attention and time between siblings, the sharing of playspace and objects, for example. He learns how co-operation is to be negotiated, and how to accommodate to constraints on competition and conflict over the family's resources.
- 7.2 These numerous kinds of interaction, repeated over and over, form the child's first framework for establishing communal relationships (i.e. primary socialization). This framework will later be expanded and tested in relationships with individuals outside the family, such as classmates, authority figures, friends and, eventually, with his own children and spouse (i.e. secondary socialization). The family into which a child is born is thus his first, and inevitably the most important, reference group. This implies that not only the family and its members serve as a model, but so do its patterns of interaction.

Styles of family interaction

- 7.3 The child's socialization is not, therefore, solely affected by whether his father is a labourer or a bus-driver, whether his mother is domineering or submissive, but by the characteristic style of communication and control within the whole family. Families who use strong verbal coercion in preference to physical control, are, for example, likely to produce children who will initially practise such techniques in settings outside the family. Gans (1962), studying mainly Italian families in Boston, found that there were class-related differences in the styles of family interaction. He suggested that these could be provisionally classified in terms of their orientation towards their children, being *adult-centred*, *child-centred*, or *adult-directed*.
- 7.4 Adult-centred families, according to Gans occurring most frequently in the working class, are run by adults for adults, and the role of the children in such families is to behave as much as possible like miniature adults. The major role expected of children in such families is to be unobtrusive and to subordinate their wishes to those of their parents, who are not generally purposive in child-rearing. They have no clear image of the future social status or occupational

level that they expect their children to reach, concentrating instead on the avoidance of downward mobility.

- 7.5 In the child-centred family, a type most often found amongst the lower middle class, family companionship is prominent, and parents spend time playing with their children and accommodate to their needs. The parents characteristically have occupational aspirations for their children: in contrast with the adult-centred family in which aspiration is replaced with concern for the avoidance of downward social mobility. The third type of family which Gans describes is typically found, he believes, in the upper middle class. This type has parents who generally have been through higher education, and know more clearly than the other two types what they would like for their children. This third category includes families which are adult-directed, and which emphasize the individuality of their children, and teach them consciously to strive to realize this individuality.
- 7.6 While it is, of course, debatable whether these are distinct types, and whether the class linkage is indeed as strong as Gans suggests, nevertheless the typology can be treated at least as pointing out a continuum. The positive end of this continuum is represented in the adult-directed family, and has clear similarities with the characteristics of *la famille éducatrice* described in detail in Block 4. Indeed, the continuum underlying Gans' types can easily be viewed as being synonymous with 'school-preparedness', in that adult-directed families socialize their children into values which are shared by the educational system (which is essentially middle-class), and the other types produce a medium or low level of continuity between these two sets of values.

Family and status

- 7.7 In addition to socializing children into particular styles of interaction, families also confer status on their children. The family into which a child is born locates him in the socio-economic strata within the local community and the wider society. This status will be retained for many years, at the very least until the child takes up employment, or perhaps leaves home for university or other education which requires moving away from home. For the present discussion, the important aspects of this conferring of status are the effects on the child's self-concept and on the responses of others towards him:

Johnny hadn't been running in the streets long when the knowledge was born in him that being a Rocco made him 'something special'; the reputation of the notorious Roccos, known to neighbors, schools, police and welfare agencies as 'chisellers, thieves, and trouble-makers' preceded him. The cop on the beat, Johnny says, always had some cynical smart crack to make . . . certain children were not allowed to play with him. Wherever he went, on the streets, in the neighborhood, at the welfare agency's penny milk station, at school, where other Roccos had been before him, he recognized himself by a gesture, an oblique remark, a wrong laugh.

Evans, Jean (1950) p. 11.

- 7.8 A further dimension of the family with important relevance for socialization, and one that is quite strongly linked with social class, is family size.¹ In a study of 200 families, covering a range of social class, half with two children and half with six or more, Bossard and Boll (1959) found that in the small families the children spent more time in educational pursuits, outside activities and social life. In contrast, the parents of large families tended to expect their

¹You will remember the discussion of the effects of family size on educational attainment in the Dublin case-study in Block 2.

children to do jobs around the house, and in these families, the children were more 'regimented', corresponding to Gans' 'adult-centredness'. These patterns can be seen as resulting from the child's situational adjustment.

- 7.9 Finally, if we add to the above picture the need for many working-class mothers to go out to work, further diluting the potential for socializing contact with the child, it would seem that the socio-economic status of a family has a variety of effects on the socialization of the child. The higher up the socio-economic scale one moves, the greater is the similarity between the probable outcomes of preschool socialization and the outcomes implicitly expected by the educational system.

8 Peer groups and socialization

The 'generation gap'

- 8.1 In any society which is in a state of change, parents and children will inevitably be separated by a historical gap, in which not only technological but also normative patterns will have become modified. Thus, the moral framework constructed by the parents, based on the world in which their own early socialization took place, is likely to be related to situations perhaps twenty or thirty years prior to that in which their own children will be living.
- 8.2 The extent of this 'generation gap' will clearly depend on the rate of change in the society, and the extent to which these changes have been progressive, or discontinuous. At times of great social change, the results may be a profound estrangement between the parents and children. The parents may evaluate their children's behaviour in terms of extinct norms that are irrelevant to current social behaviour, and the children may in turn view their parents as setting inappropriate and unrealistic standards, to the extent that their parents have not adapted to changing standards.
- 8.3 These conflicts will begin to be experienced by the child only as his sphere of social interaction extends outside the family, and the major impact of his secondary socialization occurs. Most families, of course, have more than one child, and to a certain extent the individual child will learn some patterns of social interaction with his siblings. Inevitably, however, these patterns will be affected by the age-ordering of the children. What the individual child is likely to learn within the family is how to relate to others who are at least ten months or so older or younger than himself.

Characteristics of the peer group

- 8.4 It is only outside the nuclear family that the child will have the opportunity to become socialized into peer relationships. The processes of learning the roles adults play in society, based on imitation and modelling, will be discussed in the following section. It can be argued here that for an individual to be able to *realize* these role potentials, an essential precondition is the establishment of a normative framework in interaction with others of his own age-group; and in this context it is important to note the role of the school as an institution which generates peer grouping.





- 8.5 The child grows up in two social worlds: the first being the world of his parents and siblings; the second, the world of his agemates, his friends, the members of his playgroups, clubs and so on. For any child, 'the peer group' is not one unitary body, but a succession of different specific groups with whom he interacts. Peer groups can be of many different kinds. For one child, there may be a neighbourhood, informal peer group, a nursery playgroup, and a peer group of those children of similar ages of his parents' social acquaintances. For another child, the only peer group may be that of a neighbourhood gang.
- 8.6 However, it is possible to consider the peer group as a general concept, referring to all those individuals of similar ages with whom the child forms patterns of social action. Under this broad use of the term, the peer group constitutes a world of its own, with its own customs, traditions and norms. Although this description allows us to view peer groups as constituting subcultures, it is not necessarily true that these subcultures are not *derived* from adult culture. Each child in the peer group enters it with his own, family-based constructions of adult culture, and thus the peer group can be seen as an arena in which these different constructions are brought into actual interaction.
- 8.7 The peer group situation is one in which the child is confronted, for the first time, with a diversity of value-systems, role-expectations and so on. Thus, one of the functions of the peer group in maintaining itself is to provide a setting for the individuals in it to negotiate, from their differing positions, group norms and principles. It is in the peer group that the child is able to learn about co-operative activity, taking turns, what is 'fair play', how to cope with jealousies and rivalries, without the presence of adults to provide conciliation and authoritative judgement.
- 8.8 The adult is always, to a greater or lesser extent, excluded from the peer group of the child. At one extreme, the peer group may be in continual and open conflict with adults, as in delinquent gangs whose conduct in some areas, such as the law, is at complete variance with adult standards. At the other extreme, the peer group may be quite innocuous in its relations with adults, particularly when under discreet adult supervision.
- What appears to be a general characteristic, however, is the *separatedness* of the peer group, based on its internal working out of a social framework. This framework is commonly supported by such patterns as 'in-group' language: the use of specialized jargon and slang. Freed from parental controls on unacceptable words, the peer group is able to experiment with obscenity and insult, and to explore the possibilities of different forms of behaviour and their consequences in a way that cannot occur within the family.
- 8.9 In the peer group, the child is also freed from the commitment to learning of the relatively formal type which he is expected to gain from his family upbringing, while in the family setting. In the adult world, the child is always of subordinate status. In the peer world, he has potentially equal status with others, and he learns in a very different way, with others who are not widely separated from him in age or status. Deference, and respect for authority, are non-existent issues in the peer group, only occurring to the extent that authority and power structures arise naturally within the group. The child with his peers is able to express himself freely, to experiment and explore personal relationships and to test himself out against others.
- 8.10 As has been suggested earlier, while the child may identify with and internalize all or part of an adult model, it is in the peer group that he gets a chance to work out the actual implications of this model. An interesting study by Bandura and Walters (1960) found that male children of punitive and restrictive fathers were prone to act in aggressive and hostile ways in the peer group. Thus, what

in the period of primary socialization has been *intrapersonal*, and kept so by the structure of familial control, can in the peer group become *interpersonal*; the fantasies of early childhood can become mediated by the effects of their realization.

One of the special characteristics of peer group organization that is an inevitable concomitant of this particular form of socialization is a high degree of flexibility, and transitoriness, in the interpersonal structure of the group.

Peer group values and the school

- 8.11 Strong anti-societal values in peer groups also seem most likely to occur in areas that are lacking in settings for more pro-societal activities. In an area in which streets and alleys are the only settings available for out-of-school peer group activity, the polarization in negative directions of the activities and values of these groups would seem to be an almost inevitable consequence. For example, on the Broxtowe estate in Nottingham, Denton Green and its nearby street corners is one of the major meeting places for young people on the estate. This area is almost completely unsupervised: the local policeman's 'beat' has been replaced by a cruising police car, and delinquent peer group gangs cause many problems on this estate, such as breaking windows and other acts of minor vandalism.
- 8.12 The socialization of children within the peer group, without the supervisory constraints of adults, is a potent factor in determining attitudes to schooling. The school situation is the first time in a child's life in which he is inevitably placed in a peer environment, and it is also the time at which peer group alliances develop most strongly. The importance of the peer group for schooling is heightened in urban areas: violent delinquent gangs, upholding 'territorial limits' by inter-gang fights, can be seen as a natural consequence of the social differentiation of urban areas of residence. Gang conflicts typically occur at the boundaries between residential area types: viz. the inter-denominational conflict in cities in Northern Ireland; the Jets versus the Sharks in *West Side Story*.
- 8.13 In their study of seven-year-olds in Nottingham, the Newsons (1973) found a tendency for middle-class mothers to supervise their children and their peer group contacts to a greater extent than within the working class. This again suggests that the potential for negative pressures is greater for working-class children.
- 8.14 It is worth noting that the child's smaller niche relative to that of an adult gives him a far less comprehensive view of power status in societal terms. Indeed, for the child, his egocentric view will, initially, equate niche with society. Consequently, his relationship with the school and its teachers will hinge on the extent to which he accepts and identifies with the school setting, in the context of the school's position in that child's niche. In the following extract, Danziger (1971) discusses how this crucial factor is related to peer groups and their influence on socialization.

Those children who do not identify with the teacher nor accept the values of the system will seek to validate their position by the consensus of their peers, the more successfully the larger the proportion of those in their immediate environment who share their background. In a working-class area the teacher may, therefore, find himself opposed by a solid wall of apathy and resentment. This development is promoted by the typical juxtaposition of formal and informal relationships, which the school shares with other bureaucratically organised institutions. The formation of informal groups that oppose 'the

system' more or less successful is, of course, an invariable consequence of formal organization, whether in the army, the civil service, the large industrial corporation or the school. But it is at school that the individual is first confronted with this ubiquitous phenomenon in a pure form, a socialization experience of no mean importance. He is forced to make his choice and to define his commitments in respect to the rival claims of formal authority and informal group. His spontaneous youthful decisions, while not necessarily irrevocable, are at least statistically linked to his subsequent life-chances. The 'bifurcation' of the school class into rebels and teachers' pets is perhaps the most consequential stimulus to socialization in late childhood.

Danziger, Kurt (1971) p. 123.

9 Processes of social learning

- 9.1 So far, in this part of the block, socialization has been discussed in rather general terms, and the details of the process itself have not been considered. The questions which this section addresses include: 'How do children learn social skills?'; 'What are the conditions for such learning?'; and 'What is the role of the adult in the learning process?'.
 11

The behaviourist approach

- 9.2 One learning paradigm that has been applied to social learning is the behaviourist approach, in which learning is conceived as a conjunction of two conditions, one in the organism (the response) and one in the environment (the reinforcement). In this paradigm, a reinforcement is any environmental event which makes more probable a response which it follows, or precedes, with some regularity.
- 9.3 If this event follows the response, the paradigm is of *operant* conditioning, and if it precedes the response, *classical* or *respondent* conditioning. The regularity of conjunction of either of these two conditions with the response is the *schedule of reinforcement*. In applying these paradigms to learning social behaviour in the real world, there are two major problems. Firstly, there is a problem over the circularity and specificity of the terms *response* and *reinforcement*.
- 9.4 In an experimental situation with laboratory animals, the meanings of the two terms are clear: they are phenomenal categories set up by the experimenter, and it is by generalizing from the results of such an approach that behaviourists seek to explain social learning in humans in their natural habitat. In so doing, however, they set out to identify these phenomenal categories in the everyday stream of behaviour. If a reinforcement is defined and identified on the basis of the response that it accompanies, the two definitions can easily become tautologous. The specificity of the terms also easily becomes degraded from the original clear meaning, and adds little to understanding the processes involved.
- 9.5 The second problem that arises in extending behaviourist learning theory from the laboratory to the real world has to do with contextual effects, and intra-individual variables. As Danziger (1971) states:

The one truly impressive finding of studies of social reinforcement has its source in the repeated demonstration of the fact that the reinforcing function of a given event depends entirely on the social context in which it occurs.

Danziger, Kurt (1971) p. 33.

Reward and punishment vary in their effects with a number of contextual factors such as the social class and age of the child, the sex of the experimenter, and nature of the child-adult relationship (Stevenson, 1965).

- 9.6 Finally, in animal experiments, the experimenter is in complete control of the responses available, the reinforcements and the schedules. In applying this to the child's social learning, the model of the child that is set up is of an essentially passive being, under the control of an adult who socializes the child by dispensing rewards and punishments. As discussed in Section 2, any parent will agree that this is a grossly over-simplified, if not incorrect, assumption.

Learning by observation

- 9.7 How, then, do children come to learn social behaviour, if it is not by the mechanisms by which laboratory rats learn to press response keys? The basic paradigm which is necessary to explain the process would seem to be that children learn by observation, and a rather special form of imitation, in which reinforcement plays a relatively minor role.

This approach argues for learning at a *cognitive* level, in the context of a special relationship between adult and child. Given this special relationship, it is nevertheless *observation* and not interaction that promotes learning. For detailed studies of the conditions and processes of such learning, one must inevitably refer to the work of Bandura and Walters, who, starting from a basically behaviourist position, have carried out many studies of observational social learning.

- 9.8 They name their theoretical frame as being a 'socio-behaviourist' approach. The point of departure of this approach from traditional behaviourism has to do with the explanation of how novel responses are learned. For traditional behaviourism, this has always been a crucial issue. In one of their early studies Bandura and Walters (1960) allowed nursery-school children to observe an adult acting aggressively towards a blow-up doll. Following this, the children were put in a frustrating situation by being given some attractive toys and then told that some of them would be taken away for other children. In the room was a doll like the one mistreated previously by the adult.
- 9.9 When the children were observed, and compared with a control group who did not observe the first part of the experiment, they were found to have taken over many of the actions used by the adults, whereas such behaviour was rare in the control group. Obviously, in this case, no reward is available for the imitation of the adult's behaviour. Secondly, it is of note that no relationship pertained between the children and the adult save one of observation.
- 9.10 These preliminary experiments suggested the presence of a process which has come to be called *modelling*, which cannot be described within a behaviourist framework. Now children do not imitate everyone they observe, but only certain people on certain occasions. Commonsense suggests that the effectiveness of adults as models depends on the warmth of their relationship with the child.

While it is true that in most experiments a friendly adult has been shown to be more acceptable as a model than an unfriendly one (see, for example, Mischel and Grusec, 1966), of more salience is the power, or perceived power, of the adult. The following extract from Danziger (1971) discusses this issue:

Some models appear to have an almost irresistible power over children, others are ignored. What is the source of such power?

The literature of psychology contains a number of suggestions for answering

this question. While modelling undoubtedly occurs under a wide variety of conditions, the most important task for research is to discover the necessary and sufficient conditions for its occurrence. For example, being the recipient of valued resources does not in itself make a model compelling. It had seemed plausible to some (Whiting, 1960) that the child might model himself on those whose status allows them to consume those desired rewards of which the child feels himself to be deprived. The boy, therefore, imitates his father because the latter is the privileged recipient of the mother's love. However, it has been shown that at least in the psychological laboratory children tend to imitate the person who is the source of desirable objects, like attractive toys and foods, rather than the person who competes with them for these rewards (Bandura, Ross and Ross, 1963). While this observation by no means excludes the applicability of the 'status envy' theory to real-life family settings, it does at least indicate that envy is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the occurrence of modelling.

Whiting's 'status envy' theory is, of course, a reinterpretation of Freud's Oedipal theory. The original theory had stressed the threatening qualities of the model rather than its position as a rival or competitor. Anna Freud's term, 'identification with the aggressor', expresses the suggestion that imitation may function as a defence against anxiety generated by a threatening power figure. While this may be true on occasion, it describes neither the necessary nor the sufficient conditions for the occurrence of the process, because in the laboratory both adults and children readily imitate aggressive models who present no threat to them whatever (Walters and Thomas, 1963).

Sometimes, the evidence from everyday experience is so clear that further experimental illustrations would be trivial. For instance, one hardly needs elaborate documentation to know that children and adolescents will readily take as models figures with whom they have not interacted at all. Pop singers and the heroes of organized sport will be imitated, even though they do not interact with their admirers in any direct way.¹ Therefore, it is not only unnecessary for the model to be a threat to his follower, it is not even necessary for him to have any kind of control over the follower. It is *observation* of the model and not interaction with the model that is necessary for social learning to occur.

But if observation of the model is necessary, it is certainly not a sufficient condition for imitation. Many persons' acts are observed but not copied. One possibility is that it is only the acts of *successful* models that are imitated. Indeed, there are a number of experiments which show that the aggressive actions of a model are more likely to be copied when they are rewarded and less likely to be copied when they are punished (Bandura, 1969).

Danziger, Kurt (1971) pp. 39-41.

- 9.11 In laboratory experiments on modelling behaviour, the modelled adult is normally a stranger to the child. In real life, however, children will model their social behaviour on adults who are well-known to them, as well as on strangers such as television characters. Danziger distinguishes two sorts of models - personal and positional.

The source of the power of models which are considered worth imitating is elusive. It is not . . . necessarily a matter of direct power over the follower himself, nor can we be sure that it is simply a matter of demonstrated success. . . . It may help to make a distinction between two kinds of models, personal models and positional models. A personal model is followed for the sake of his personal attributes, a positional model for the sake of the attributes that pertain to his social position as defined by sex, age, occupation, etc. (Winch, 1962). What the child enacts when imitating a positional model is a social role, not a

¹ Author's note: The imitation of popular figures is often reinforced by the peer group.

personal style. In the psychological laboratory a male experimenter serving as model represents not only himself, but also men in general, and his behaviour may say to the child, 'Act like a man', rather than, 'Act like me'.

Danziger, Kurt (1971) p. 42.

- 9.12 Danziger also discusses the different conditions which pertain to these two types of models:

Familiarity, based on previous interaction with the model, may well be crucial for personal models but it is clearly not important for positional models, where it is only a question of the child being familiar with the social role in general. Again, it seems likely that an individual's capacity for threatening the child, either by the withdrawal of nurturance or by some active form of punishment, may help to instate him as a personal rather than as a positional model. . . .

What is involved in positional modelling is not the model's direct power over the child, as in the case of personal modelling, but the model's perceived status in the social system of which both he and the child are parts. The child may be merely a spectator, but he is impressed by a model that demonstrates his control over valued resources, even though the child may not benefit directly from this control. The kind of power that inheres in a social position is different from the personal aggressiveness or punitiveness of an individual. The former is *legitimized* power that implies the existence of a normative framework which the child accepts.

Danziger, Kurt (1971) pp. 42-3.

10 Influences of the urban environment

- 10.1 In discussing the ways in which the urban environment has effects upon socialization, a number of concepts from earlier in the block will be brought into use. Firstly, in the paper by Herbert F. Wright, 'Urban space as seen by the child' (in the Supplementary Material for Block 3), the *size* of the extra-individual environment was pointed out as being an important factor in variations in the life of individuals. Clearly, in talking about urban areas, we are considering the top limits of size in residential areas. While Wright discusses the 'urban neighbourhood' as a 'bringing down to size' of the city, into local, self-contained and small-town-like areas, suggesting that these contain an adequate range of settings, we know that this is, unfortunately, only exceptionally true.
- 10.2 In all the case-studies, certain areas of the cities, the 'twilight zones', the 'zones of transition', the inner-city areas and suburban estates, have predominantly been shown to be places in which the number of settings into which people, particularly 'young people, can enter is extremely low: we have seen, for example, a lack of supervised playspace, and the milieu objects to support constructive play. In Part 4 of Block 2, Byrne, Williamson and Fletcher point to the socio-spatial distribution of resources as selectively favouring some areas over those mentioned above. The line I wish to follow is that this lack in settings has a strong effect on the *range* of the child's socialization. In particular, you might like to consider the effects of the locations and niches of each family in the three case-studies on the socialization of their children.

- 10.3 As you have already seen in earlier parts of this course, urban areas are characterized by their *differentiation*. That is, cities are not homogeneous places; certain activities, such as light industry, or offices, or places of residence, are differentially distributed. What this means for the child is that his niche is a highly variable concept, and strongly dependent on his place of residence. One child may experience only his home, school, wasteland and streets as the settings into which he is socialized, whereas another may experience youth clubs, sportsgrounds, a Saturday workplace and church meetings, as well as home and school.

Given that the child's niche is necessarily smaller, containing fewer settings than that of the adult, and in addition encompasses a smaller geographical area, this differentiation of the urban environment has a strong impact on the child's opportunities for social learning.

- 10.4 As well as being a list of academic hypotheses (tentative statements are all that are possible: there has been a singular lack of research in this area), this final section can be seen as a framework for enquiry to be used by teachers or schools who wish to investigate the socialization potential of the environment of their pupils, and to make attempts within the school to come to terms with problems thrown up by their pupils' niches.
- 10.5 Before considering topics, however, it is important to remind ourselves once again that, for the child, his niche is his 'world', and the components of that niche and his adaptation to them represent the basic framework of his adaptation to society. The niche *models* society, and the extent to which this model is biased, deficient, aesthetically satisfying or repulsive, conflict-ridden or in stasis, to that extent the child will accommodate to a similar world-view.

Setting resources in the city

- 10.6 How, then, does the urban environment enter into the child's niche? Most importantly, in terms of the availability of settings which allow entry: the setting resource. It appears to be an unfortunate natural consequence of urban development for areas to occur in which the total number of settings, per individual, is extremely low. The implications of this, recalling the earlier discussion of settings and school size, is that individual performances will tend to decrease: more people will take peripheral roles, and pressures to participate will be replaced by pressures to withdraw. If one of the important components of socialization is entry and participation in settings in the locale, then children in areas with low setting resources are being pushed out of the few places in which potentially useful socialization might take place.
- 10.7 In addition, when pressures such as comprehensivization lead to a general increase in school size, following the theory of behaviour settings and organizational size, one expects a further reduction in penetration. This exclusion is likely to be significantly greater for those children whose home backgrounds, and the family interaction patterns within them, give them an inadequate education in participation skills of other settings: notably verbal negotiation. As this would appear to be partly a class-linked trait, then two factors – the spatial distribution of setting resources and the ability to enter and participate in the settings that do exist – both contribute to a subtle vetoing on many fronts of just those children who most stand to benefit.
- 10.8 Given this lack of entry into formal settings, children must inevitably turn to informal settings such as street groupings, which have already been discussed, with the subsequent deleterious effects on socialization into behaviour and values that foster success within the educational system. The effects of informal

behaviour in streets, vacant lots, and other open spaces in the urban habitat – settings spontaneously generated by children for children – would not of necessity be so potentially maladaptive if supervision by adults were not also significantly reduced by many aspects of the built environment in cities. The effects on supervision of high-rise and high-density residence are a perennial problem, and the possibilities for parents at least to keep a watchful eye on their children's out-of-doors play are minimal: the solution which some parents adopt of forbidding street play is to further restrict the variety in the child's niche.

- 10.9 Variety, conceived of as the number of setting genotypes in the child's niche, is clearly an important (probably the most important) factor in a child's socialization, for it is in experiencing varied settings, and varied roles within them, that the child is able to prepare for the multitude of settings in which he might need and wish to enter as an adult.

Note that in this framework, the school is conceived of as providing only one part of the child's niche. Clearly, one direction in which formally organized education might contribute to adequate socialization is not only in providing learning how to perform in the genotype 'classroom', for this genotype does not often occur in adult life, but also in attempting to provide learning in other settings. This is what James S. Coleman argues for in his article, 'How do the young become adults?' in Reader 1 (pp. 194–204), which is set reading for this part of the block.

- 10.10 Coleman suggests in this article that settings to do with work (in his terms, 'the workplace') have become progressively closed to children: 'less available, and less useful to the young until they enter it as full-time workers at the end of a longer and longer period of full-time schooling' (p. 196). Coleman points to the major deficit that this historical tendency produces: whereas schooling was formerly an adjunct to 'apprenticeship' in work institutions, occupying a small part of the child's time, the learning of intellectual skills – for Coleman the major function of schools – has expanded at the same time as other, equally important, forms of learning have decreased in significance.

The discussion of solutions to this problem falls outside the province of this block, and will be taken up in the context of curriculum provision in Block 5.

- 10.11 Looking back again to the various case-studies you have read, variety of settings seems to be particularly low in what are recognized as 'problem areas'. The child whose social development takes place in a niche of few settings and low variety, is thus prepared socially for a world of equally low variety. Unfortunately, the larger context of the city is one in which variety is high. Indeed, cities as a whole are apexes of setting variety: in Midwest, Barker and Wright (1955) discovered no less than 220 setting genotypes, and Midwest is by no means the largest of cities. Children socialized in a niche of low variety are thus greatly disadvantaged when their niche expands as they grow older: this expansion of the niche requires additional learning for each genotype encountered.

- 10.12 In continuing to explore the effects of the child's niche on his socialization, one might also enquire 'Who are the models within the niche?' In general, one might suggest that in urban areas, models from outside the family are more likely to be 'positional' than 'personal' (in Danziger's terms): that people are modelled on the basis of their roles rather than as individuals. Recall the example given in Herbert F. Wright's paper of the child meeting his teacher by chance in a supermarket.

- 10.13 In positional modelling, the perceived status of the model vis-à-vis legitimized power was suggested as being of importance. In an impoverished inner-city area, it would then seem likely that gang leaders are more probable choices as models than, say, teachers at the local school. Again, it seems apposite to enquire whether teachers should pay more attention to their individual statuses as potential models for their pupils than at present. Indeed, this is an area of schooling which has only recently been focused on: what is termed the 'hidden curriculum'. It is hard to see a teacher whose only position *as seen by the pupil* is one of controller in the classroom acting as a model to those pupils.

Implications for urban schools

- 10.14 Summing up, then, it seems appropriate to suggest that since the experiences that socialize children in cities are likely to depend heavily on the resources of the children's niches, teachers and schools who wish to take account of their socio-spatial location within the city should consider carefully the way in which they relate to the niches of the children in their catchment areas. Secondly, recognizing that the provision of models under the necessary conditions for modelling is a prerequisite for social learning, urban schools could contribute towards providing an environment in which children could make responsible and informed *choices* about social behaviour. Finally, since two of the concomitants of urbanization are often a decrease in the variety of socializing settings, and a reduction in children's entry into workplace settings, it seems appropriate for urban schools to consider ways in which children might acquire preparation in the social skills which they will later be required to learn in adulthood, which the urban environment, as it presents itself to the child at this time, does not allow.
- 10.15 At this point, having outlined some aspects of the problems that the urban environment can engender vis-à-vis socialization, the discussion rests, and will be taken up again in Blocks 4 and 5. In particular, Television Programme 11, *A Sense of Belonging*, will explore some of the issues raised here.

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Note on reading for Part 3

This part of Block 3 relates to Section 3 of Reader 1. The text itself provides a critical review of some of the concepts which underlie compensatory programmes, and the readings in Section 3 have been selected as illustrations of a range of positions in the area. It is suggested that you read the correspondence text first, and then pick up the various points made in the papers referred to. You will find it useful to summarize each author's position after having read each paper, and to consider whether it is a position which you hold yourself. The range of papers in this section of the reader are *not* consensual: no-one could agree simultaneously with all of them, and you will find yourself establishing your own position within them (or outside them) if you read them critically.

Set reading

Interview with Professor Herbert Ginsburg, 'The assessment of ability' (Supplementary Material for Block 3).

FERGUSON, NEIL, DAVIES, PATRICIA, EVANS, ROY and WILLIAMS, PHILLIP 'The Plowden Report's recommendations for identifying children in need of extra help' in Reader 1 (pp. 224-31).

DEUTSCH, MARTIN 'The disadvantaged child and the learning process' in Reader 1 (pp. 210-15).

REISSMAN, FRANK 'The culturally deprived child' in Reader 1 (pp. 205-9).

FANTINI, MARIO D. and WEINSTEIN, GERALD 'Who are the disadvantaged?' in Reader 1 (pp. 216-23).

EISENBERG, LEON 'Strengths of the inner city child' in Reader 1 (pp. 245-55).

FRIEDMAN, NORMAN L. 'Cultural deprivation: a commentary in the sociology of knowledge' in Reader 1 (pp. 256-70).

KARNES, MERLE B., STUDLEY, WILLIAM M., WRIGHT, WILLIS R. and HODGINS, AUDREY S. 'An approach for working with mothers of disadvantaged pre-school children' in Reader 1 (pp. 232-44).

Recommended reading

There are also a number of references to parts of two set books for the course. These references are given below - you may find it useful to check which you have already read.

DAVIE, RONALD, BUTLER, NEVILLE and GOLDSTEIN, HARVEY (1972) *From Birth to Seven*, Longman, Sections 3 and 10.

HALSEY, A. H. (ed.) (1972) *Educational Priority*, Vol. 1, HMSO, Chapters 1 and 2.

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Objectives for Part 3

At the end of this part of the block, you should be able to:

- 1 Examine critically some of the concepts underlying compensatory programmes.
- 2 Be critical of 'position papers' in the area of compensatory education, and develop your own position.
- 3 Consider some of the reasons why compensatory programmes do not succeed in achieving their aims.
- 4 Suggest new directions of intervention.

On June 17, 1744, the commissioners from Maryland and Virginia negotiated a treaty with the Indians of the Six Nations at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The Indians were invited to send boys to William and Mary College. The next day they declined the offer as follows.

WE KNOW THAT YOU HIGHLY ESTEEM THE KIND OF LEARNING taught in those Colleges, and that the Maintenance of our young Men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, that you mean to do us Good by your Proposal; and we thank you heartily. But you, who are wise must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our Ideas of this kind of Education happen not to be the same as yours. We have had some Experience of it. Several of our young People were formerly brought up at the Colleges of the Northern Provinces: they were instructed in all your Sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods . . . neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing.

We are, however, not the less oblig'd by your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and, to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take Care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them.

²Reprinted from McLuhan, T. C. (1971) *Touch the Earth: A Self-Portrait of Indian Existence*. First published in Great Britain by the Garnstone Press. (Abacus edition, p. 37.)

1 Introduction

- 1.1 This final part of Block 3 sets out to do two things: firstly, to link some of the ideas in previous parts of the block; and secondly, to examine in psychological terms the much-disputed issue of compensatory education. In this field, more than any other, a particular constellation of urban problems, concerned with low attainment rates in schools, conflict between school and home background, language, poverty and social class, can be viewed in many different ways.

Ideology and compensation

- 1.2 The hope is that after you have read this part of the block and the associated set reading, you will be able to consider, not one, but several ways of viewing such problems, since it is only by clearly defining one's position in regard to the aims of education, and the constraints that the urban environment places on education, that one is able to evaluate any programme which sets out to 'compensate' or to differentiate any segment of the urban population for special treatment. The aim is not to provide solutions, but to examine some of the issues: putative solutions will be dealt with later in the course.
- 1.3 Without exception, any attempt at compensatory education is predicated on some form of differentiation, whether it is based on socio-economic status (as in programmes devised on the basis of Bernstein's research into language), areas of cities (as in EPA projects) or on the articulation of community interests (as in some of the Head Start programmes), or on other principles. For compensatory education to be deemed necessary for any subgroup of children, initial hypotheses must first have been formed concerning the nature of the missing elements, or deficits, that are being compensated for in the programme. In addition, implicit in any particular concept of compensation through education is a particular philosophy of the general aims of education. These two aspects are then linked, again often implicitly, by the assumption of a particular model of a child's social and psychological development.
- 1.4 For example, in the Head Start programmes, a deficit model underlaid the hypothesis that Negro and lower working-class children received insufficient language and cognitive training in the home. Their IQs were therefore seen as being depressed, because of the 'deprived' environment in which they lived. The aim of education, as measured in most of the Head Start programmes, was to boost IQs or at least halt their fall in the Head Start recipients. The model of development that was implicit in the programmes assumed that training in the deficit areas in the preschool year could improve IQ scores or prevent their fall, and that once this had been done, the normal processes of schooling would serve to maintain intellectual development.
- 1.5 It is, of course, in the nature of educational innovations to be based on theories of development that were current some years previous to the design of the innovation, and its implementation. In the Head Start programmes just mentioned, the evaluations of the results of these programmes, on the whole unencouraging, can be seen as reflecting the inaccuracy of the model of child development on which they were based. To mention again the research of Bernstein, many programmes in this country, such as those developed by the Gahagans and documented in their book, *Talk Reform* (1970), are utilizing as their theoretical base a model of language that Bernstein no longer wholly endorses.

- 1.6 Thus, I would suggest that anyone involved in any form of compensatory education, i.e. educational strategies that set out to compensate for some condition of the individual (or groups of individuals) or of the school or home environment, should consider carefully the basis on which this compensation is deemed necessary, and the particular theory of psychological development which underlies the form of the intervention.
- 1.7 The suggestion is that most of the large-scale programmes, such as those already mentioned, and many smaller ones, are based on simplistic or false notions of child development. As was discussed in Part 2 of this block, the young child is characteristically *active* in learning about the world, yet many strategies of compensation see the child as passive; 'an empty vessel waiting to be filled'.

A broader definition of 'compensatory education'

- 1.8 Finally, I would like to argue for a rather broader definition of 'compensatory education' than is current. Many people take compensatory education to refer to large-scale programmes of intervention, in which the teacher plays a 'realization' role – teaching by methods, and towards aims, developed by others. What I wish to suggest is that compensatory education is being carried out, not only in the above situation, but also when a school, or an individual teacher, singles out certain pupils as suffering from some sort of deprivation, deficit or disadvantage, and teaches in such a way as to attempt to overcome or mitigate this.
- 1.9 Excluded from this definition would be forms of remedial education such as special reading classes. The above definition of compensation is intended to cover all approaches that are predicated on some form of 'broad band' environmental deprivation or disadvantage.

2 Why compensate?

The mismatch between aims and results

- 2.1 Before entering the debate about how compensatory education should be carried out, and indeed whether it should be carried out at all, I would first like to examine briefly a *why?* question: why should compensation be necessary in school? In asking this question, one is involved in considering both the processes of education and the aims to which it aspires. While these two considerations do not match (for if they did, we would be living in a comfortable world), it is important to consider where the mismatch occurs. What is happening in schools today that is at variance with what schools are attempting to do?
- 2.2 Of course, everyone has his own view as to what education is all about, or what it should be about, but nevertheless, there is a sense in which some agreement exists. With the expansion and development of schooling in Britain and other industrialized societies in the 1940s to 1950s, one of the fervent hopes of many educationists was that this growth in educational provision would contribute towards an egalitarian and socially mobile society.
- 2.3 Indeed, this view of education, offering 'equality of opportunity' is one that is widely held today, and shapes many educational programmes. However, as a slogan, it leaves much to be desired: firstly, does the 'opportunity' refer

merely to opportunities within schools, or does it refer to occupational opportunities as well? Secondly, how is it to be measured? That is, how would we know if education *did* achieve its aims?

Activity Aims of education

Before going on to discuss these issues, I would suggest that you consider your own stance on them. The headings below might be useful in your thinking. Work through them in order and consider each heading before writing down your answer.

Allow about 20 minutes on this work.

I consider that the main aims of education should be:

Are these aims being achieved in the schools that you know?

If not, what makes you feel that they are not being achieved?

How would you know if they were?

Equality of opportunity?

- 2.4 Compensatory education is one of the ways in which progressive educationists have attempted to make schooling come closer to achieving its institutional aims. The concept, and its subsequent realization in educational programmes, is a response to an array of evidence which suggests that children from different

subgroups of the population do not achieve in equal proportions. One of the major pieces of evidence is that socio-economic status is strongly related to the period of time after the statutory leaving-age that children stay on at school and spend in higher education.

- 2.5 In 1962, Jackson and Marsden reported that their research had shown that grammar schools and places of higher education had a disproportionately high number of middle-class students, disproportionate, that is, to the percentage distribution of socio-economic status in the population as a whole. This situation was also confirmed by data contained in the Robbins Report on Higher Education (1963). See also the cutting overleaf from the *Guardian*, 23 August 1973.

Social class and school performance

- 2.6 Thus it is clear that even if we were to restrict our view of educational aims to equality of educational opportunity, then schools emerge as places which tend to selectively favour the middle-class child and weed out the working-class child. If one considers the long-term consequences of the education system continuing to work in this way, then one has to view schools as maintaining or even expanding a middle-class dominated society. A system in which middle-class children are prepared for a limited number of middle-class roles which are well-paid and carry social power with them perpetuates the system as it stands.¹
- 2.7 As Halsey (1972) argues, present educational methods appear, on the face of it, to be producing results that run counter to their declared aims. Of course, the time-span of this particular ecological cycle is long, some twenty years at least. Children must progress through school and have spent some time out of it before we can really know what the effects are. Nevertheless, we can hardly expect depressed achievement rates for working-class and minority groups to lead to greater upward social mobility for them in the long term through education.
- 2.8 Upward social mobility per se is only positively valued in a situation in which the middle classes have greater power, resources and income over the working classes. If standards of living were to become equal, by non-educational means, then one would have to re-examine the reasons why upward mobility would be a desirable educational aim. As Bernstein argues in his article, 'Education cannot compensate for society' (see the extracts in Reader 2, pp. 79-84), schools are not the sole determinant of social mobility; society outside the school determines access to job opportunities and so on. In addition, the school experience is, for a child, only part of his 'life-space', which also includes his home, his community and society's media (and their messages).
- 2.9 If you agree that at the present time there appears to be a general problem in that education is not wholly achieving its aims, and that the strongest examples of this are to be found in some urban schools because of the differences in school intake across social classes and ethnic variables which concentrate the problems in some schools, then a further question is encountered: why do schools not achieve their aims? An easy answer to this question is that the problem lies in the school itself: in the form of organization, in the curriculum, the teaching strategies and so on. Firstly, one must note that the majority of schools celebrate middle-class values such as individuality, competition, achievement and deferred gratification; teachers are also predominantly

¹See also pp. 5-7 of A. H. Halsey (ed.) (1972) *Educational Priority*, Vol. 1, HMSO (set book).

Working class children still lag at school

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

Working-class children still lag far behind middle-class children in their school work, according to a survey of 11-year-olds published today.

The National Children's Bureau is carrying out a continuing survey of 17,000 children born during one week in March 1958, to provide accurate statistical data on the same children from birth to maturity.

The last progress report was published after an analysis of the children at seven, and found that in speech, dental health, and control of hands the middle-class children were superior to their working-class counterparts.

Today Statistical News publishes the findings of a follow-up study at 11. In his report Dr Ronald Davie, director of the bureau, says that more than twice as many middle-class children as working-class children scored well in reading tests. In general ability tests, girls scored better than boys in verbal ability.

"As was found at seven years, on all measures of ability and attainment at school, the social class results show a sharp differentiation in performance between the children whose fathers have non manual (middle-class) occupations from those whose fathers have manual (working-class) occupations."

Schools, says Dr Davie, overwhelmingly reflect the values, norms, and expectations of the middle-class, professional men and women who staff them. So children from homes which generate the same attitudes as those held by the teachers have a great advantage at school.

The findings presented a challenge, not only to the schools. The seven-year survey had shown that children from working-class homes had less help from the social services than middle-class children, even though they needed such services more. They were less likely to be living with both their natural parents and they were more likely to be living in overcrowded conditions.

"The situation as early as seven years looked bleak. The situation at 11 years looks no better and indeed may well be worse."

Statistical News, August HMSO, 30p.

middle-class¹. Floud and Scott (1956), reviewing the recruitment of teachers in England and Wales, found that 60 per cent of men and 65 per cent of women teachers recruited came from a middle-class background. Now, as was argued in the introduction to this block, problems viewed within an ecological framework are basically mismatch problems. Thus, while some of the causes of the problems must necessarily lie within the schools themselves, partly as a result of their strong middle-class bias, of equal importance are other factors which impinge on the child-school relationship.

Environment and school performance

- 2.10 However, you could be forgiven for thinking that the crucial variable in school 'success' (as measured by attainment and progress through the educational system) has been seen so far as being socio-economic status. While social class is indeed an important predictor of success, it by no means accounts for all the variance in school performance. Miller (1971) suggests that at most, social class accounts for 12 per cent of this variance, leaving nearly 90 per cent to be explained by other factors.
- 2.11 While the findings of the National Child Development Study (1958 cohort) suggest a higher ratio (25 per cent due to social class and 75 per cent to other factors), they do show the relative importance, at least for their sample, of other variables. Figures 14 and 15 (on pp. 54 and 55) in Davie *et al.* (1972) (set book) show that while social class is a stronger predictor of both arithmetic and reading attainment, when the effects of other variables are partitioned, these other variables also account for sizeable amounts of the variance. In particular, they show that environmental conditions in the home, such as housing type and condition, and family characteristics, have sizeable correlations with attainment.²
- 2.12 There is evidence from the work of Douglas (1964) that the home environment has a strong influence on school performance, the effects being related to the preschool years, so that by the end of primary school, if not before, children are already differentiated (by virtue of testing results and teacher expectations) into different educational paths. However, the way in which such variables as housing type and condition affect the performance of children in school is complex. Reporting to the Plowden Committee, Peaker (1967) reached the following conclusions:
 - a The variation in parental attitudes can account for more of the variation in children's school achievement than either the variation in home circumstances or the variation in schools.
 - b Among the school variables of which we took notice the most important appeared to be the quality of the teaching. Although we found, as other inquiries have done, an association between better work and larger classes we also found that there were invariably other favourable circumstances, associated with the larger classes, to account for their apparent superiority.
 - c Although the variation in parental material circumstances and parental education can account for some of the variation in parental attitudes it cannot account for very much, and leaves open the possibility that attitudes may be changed by persuasion.
 - d There is no doubt that attitudes have changed and are changing. Perhaps the strongest evidence of the change in attitudes is the large and continuing rise in the proportion of children who stay at school beyond the statutory leaving-age.

¹See Unit 5 of the Open University course, *The Curriculum: Context, Design and Development* (E283).

²See Part II of the Dublin case-study in Block 2.

e Despite the evidence that attitudes are not closely conditioned by material circumstances, and that they have changed with time, our positive evidence on the question of how far they are open to persuasion was rather disappointing. A number of our variables attempted to measure the efforts and persuasion applied by the schools, but these variables were not very conspicuous in their contributions to the children's achievements.

f Consequently, we may be confident that there is ample scope for persuasion while recognizing that to find the right kind and amount of persuasion will be a difficult and delicate experiment, needing much ingenuity and tact.

Peaker, G. F. in *Plowden Report* (1967), pp. 181-2.

Genetic bases and school performance: the controversy

- 2.13 A further line of discussion as to why many compensatory programmes in the United States have not apparently had widespread success is the controversy surrounding the genetic bases of school performance (first discussed in Block 1). In a publication which stimulated this debate, Jensen (1969) suggested that the factors which programmes such as Head Start set out to affect are incapable of appreciable change, because they are genetically determined. Jensen argues that compensatory programmes should thus be directed towards the development of specific academic skills (of the type that he calls 'associative learning'). This viewpoint has received a great deal of criticism, both in terms of the detailed genetic assumptions that Jensen makes and in more general terms of the 'racist' ideology of the paper (see Baratz and Baratz, 1970).

- 2.14 For example, Hunt (1969) believes that he (Hunt) is among 'the few who are inclined to believe that mankind has not yet developed and deployed a form of early childhood education . . . which permits him to achieve his full genotypic potential' (p. 292). In his view, the relative failure of compensatory programmes is not due to genetic deficit, but to the delay in introducing them into the lives of disadvantaged children. Hunt asks, in this paper, the following question: 'How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement by deliberately altering the ecological niche of infants and young children, from birth to age five, through early childhood education?'. His short answer, 'Who knows?', suggests that it is still too early in the development of relevant research to abandon further attempts at compensation.

The use of standardized intelligence tests with different ethnic and socio-economic groups has itself been a perennial topic of debate. The value of these types of test is discussed in relation to other forms of assessment in the edited transcript of an interview with Professor Herbert Ginsburg, 'The assessment of ability' (see the Supplementary Material for Block 3).

Students who are interested in following this paper up are recommended to read:

GINSBURG, HERBERT (1972) *The Myth of the Deprived Child*, Prentice-Hall.

American action and reaction

- 2.15 For an additional discussion of the issues raised above, and the way in which American compensatory programmes relate to them, it is suggested that you read the paper by A. Harry Passow, 'Social deprivation and change in education: American action and reaction' (Supplementary Reading, pp. 159-70), in which he outlines the variety of patterns which characterize American programmes.

3 The problem of stereotyping

Creating more problems than are solved?

- 3.1 In 'Community development', the article by John Benington in Reader 1 (pp. 169-79), the author states that:

... many of the agencies which are set up to meet needs and tackle problems in practice often unintentionally perpetuate those very problems by reinforcing the definition of people as having intrinsic disabilities within themselves. (p. 177)

This is the prime danger of allowing stereotypes to guide action: setting a portion of the population apart, and 'branding' them with a particular label, may easily in the end create more problems than are solved.¹ As was suggested earlier in this part of the block, the history of compensatory education is rooted in notions of discriminatory treatment for subgroups of school pupils.

The stereotype of the priority area

- 3.2 In this country, the Plowden Report (1967), with its suggestions for the identification of 'Educational Priority Areas', was predicated on the concept of 'positive discrimination' (as we saw in Part 1 of Block 2). The basis of this discrimination was to be characteristics of *areas* of large cities. The details of these criteria are set out in detail in Halsey (1972, set book).
- 3.3 These criteria set out to assess the social and environmental status of localities. Based on them, areas that fell below a criteria level were to receive a number of inputs into the schools, including higher rates of pay for teachers and extra educational resources. The later operation of this system tended to identify inner-city areas as being those most in need of this kind of assistance.
- 3.4 While the basic principle of this particular approach is indeed humanitarian, and was a well-researched and serious attempt to right some of the wrongs of our educational system, the decision to use this particular constellation of criteria, and to base compensation on characteristics of *areas* has been widely criticized. This criticism comes partly from teachers and education committees, but also from research aimed at evaluating the EPA strategy.
- 3.5 To mention one example of reaction from within the system, recall that in Nottingham the EPA schools all lay in the inner-city area. While the Education Committee agree that these schools do need assistance, they also feel that other schools, which fall above the criteria level, are nevertheless as urgently in need of added input, and to this end, have mobilized Urban Aid Programme resources to help schools that lie further from the city centre, such as the Player group of schools.
- 3.6 On the research side, the paper by Ferguson *et al.*, 'The Plowden Report's recommendations for identifying children in need of extra help' in Reader 1 (pp. 224-31), reports on a large-scale study of the Plowden recommendations. One of the assumptions underlying EPA as a concept was that the eight criteria *covariied*, that is, when one is at a certain level, all the others will be at similar levels.
- 3.7 A secondary assumption, based on this, was that EPA areas would have living in them pupils who could be described as disadvantaged or deprived in some

¹You will remember that this was mentioned in the context of New York schools in Block 1 (see paragraph 1.6).

way. Thus, the beginnings of a stereotype had been set up. The paper just referred to reports an investigation of this stereotype, and questions its validity. The paper makes two main points: firstly, that there is a great deal of overlap between the distribution of school performance in 'deprived' and 'non-deprived' schools; and secondly, that the set of criteria do not covary as neatly as the Plowden Report proposes.

- 3.8 Thus, the stereotype of the priority area has little to commend it, as there may be other areas as badly in need of intervention as those selected as priority areas, and there is not a neat boundary between deprived and non-deprived areas, or their populations.

A more child-centred approach

- 3.9 Arising from the paper referred to above is a recommendation that compensatory programmes should be based on a more child-centred approach that diagnoses problems of *individuals*. It is only in this context, the authors argue, that one can assess the effects of home deprivation on the child, and mobilize appropriate action:

If . . . infant reception class teachers were to use routinely the means to identify children with poor home conditions and inadequate development of those skills upon which the child's future progress at school depends, then a direct approach to the problem would seem possible. (p. 230)

- 3.10 So far, stereotyping has been considered in relation to areas of cities. However, stereotypes abound for other ways of subdividing the population. I have already pointed out in the previous section that attainment in school is related to a whole range of variables, and therefore one is misguided in saying that, for example, the problems of disadvantage all revolve around socio-economic status.

Stereotypes of disadvantage

- 3.11 For a clear exposition of two positions that unavowedly set up a stereotype of disadvantage, you should read two articles in Reader 1: the article by Martin Deutsch, 'The disadvantaged child and the learning process' (pp. 210-15), and that by Frank Reissman, 'The culturally deprived child' (pp. 205-9). The source of the Reissman paper is his book, *The Culturally Deprived Child* (1962), which has contributed, perhaps more than any other, to the stereotypical view.

Martin Deutsch presents the following view of Negro/lower-class homes:

- 1 They offer minimal visual stimulation.
- 2 There is a sparsity of manipulable objects.
- 3 They are not 'verbally-oriented'.

His picture of the child who grows up in such a home is of an inattentive, present-oriented, and underdeveloped child.

In stark contrast with these two positions, Mario D. Fantini and Gerald Weinstein in their article, 'Who are the disadvantaged?' in Reader 1 (pp. 216-23) argue that the 'disadvantaged' are to be found in all sectors of society, and that the current stereotyping approach is best understood in a cultural framework, and the complex of power relationships that affect the school. See also the article by Norman L. Friedman, 'Cultural deprivation: a commentary in the sociology of knowledge' in Reader 1 (pp. 256-70).

4 The self-fulfilling prophecy

'Experimenter effects'

- 4.1 One of the early puzzles encountered in experimental psychology was that different experimenters, on replicating each other's experiments, found that their results were sometimes at variance with each other. One*psychologist, interested in the thought processes of laboratory rats, might find that when placed on a T-maze, his rats typically 'sat and thought' about which way to turn at the junction of the T, while another experimenter, interested in trial and error, might find that *his* rats behaved in the way that *he* expected them to.
- 4.2 With human subjects, the problem of 'experimenter effects' has proved no less pertinent. Inevitably, the subject's perceived notion of what the experimenter expects of the experiment colours his reactions. Any well-designed experiment will attempt to control for this factor by a variety of measures, such as the 'double-blind' procedure, in which the actual running of the experiment is delegated to a third person, who is unaware of the purposes of the experiment. Nevertheless, in spite of such precautions, psychological experiments are rarely wholly replicable in terms of results.
- 4.3 Indeed, a number of writers¹ have suggested that experiments that purport to show, for example, the existence of ESP phenomena, in fact show the pervasive nature of experimenter effects. The hypothesis that Rosenthal has formed states that the expectations of the experimenter are always, to a greater or lesser extent, transmitted by such things as threshold cues from experimenter to subject, and by context and form of the experimental setting.
- 4.4 Thus, what the experimenter *expects* his subjects to do, they are likely to do, at higher than chance level. While the early discovery of this effect was largely based on anecdotal evidence and the examination of other experiments, later studies carried out specifically to explore the conditions of such effects have supplied much harder evidence that confirms Rosenthal's original hypothesis (see Stanton and Baker, 1942; Rosenthal, 1966).
- 4.5 In a psychological experiment, one should take great care to avoid or mitigate such effects. In everyday life, however, the results of people forming hypotheses about other people's behaviour are part of the ecology of relationships. I expect you to do something, and you do it: my expectation is confirmed. Now, stated like this, I just appear as a good *predictor* of your behaviour. What the title of this section suggests is that the interaction is often less simple – that in some cases, what I expect you to do (the making of a prophecy) when communicated to you, will in some fashion *cause* you to act in this way.

Self-fulfilling prophecies in the classroom

- 4.6 In this latter case, my prophecy is *self-fulfilling*; the making of it increases the likelihood of it coming true. I would suggest that in the school system as it stands now, predicated as it is on succeeding versus failing, on predicting success and failure, the operation of self-fulfilling prophecies at the teacher level is a pervasive circumstance.
- 4.7 In the following extract from their book, *Pygmalion in the Classroom* (1968), Rosenthal and Jacobson describe how this process starts, with 'the teachers' perceptions of children on the first day of school. For better or worse, on this day, children begin to acquire 'labels', which they will carry through the school system, proclaiming to other teachers just what the nature of this child's future is to be, as prophesied by his first teacher.

¹See Rosenthal, F. (1966) for a recent summary of the literature.

Entering the first-grade classroom is a big step for a child. It can be a glowing or a devastating experience. The teacher smiles at the children, looking at them to see what the year will bring. The well-groomed white boys and girls will probably do well. The black- and brown-skinned ones are lower-class and will have learning problems unless they look exceptionally clean. All the whites who do not look tidy and need handkerchiefs will have trouble. If the teacher sees a preponderance of lower-class children, regardless of color, she knows her work will be difficult and unsatisfying. The teacher wants her children to learn, all of them, but she knows that lower-class children do not do well in school, just as she knows that middle-class children do do well. All this she knows as she smiles at her class for the first time, welcoming them to the adventure of first grade, measuring them for success or failure against the yardstick of middle-classness. The children smile back at her, unaware as yet that the first measurements have been taken. The yardstick will be used again when they speak to her, as she hears words spoken clearly or snuffled or stammered or spoken with an accent. And later they will be measured for readiness for reading or intelligence. Many times that first year the children will be examined for what they are, for what they bring with them when they come to school.

Down the hall, the second-grade teacher knows that most of *her* lower-class students are behind those of the middle class. All through the schools that first day in September the teachers look at their classes and know which children will and will not do well during the year. Sometimes the results of formal and informal measurement modify that first day's perception; a dirty child may be very bright, a brown child may learn rapidly, a black child may read like an angel, and a tidy middle-class child may be hopelessly dull. Sometimes. Usually, the teacher is right when she predicts that middle-class children generally succeed in school and lower-class children generally lag behind and eventually fail.

Rosenthal, Robert and Jacobson, Lenore (1968) pp. 47-8.

- 4.8 In the opening pages of *36 Children* (1967, set book), Herbert Kohl describes how for him it was a natural reaction to make assumptions about the abilities of his class. Indeed, the whole book is an essay on overcoming the dangers of prejudice towards his pupils:

There was an hour to summon energy and prepare for the afternoon, yet it seemed futile. What good are plans, clever new methods and materials, when the children didn't — wouldn't — care or listen? Perhaps the best solution was to *prepare for hostility and silence*¹, become the cynical teacher, untaught by his pupils, ungiving himself, yet protected.

Kohl, Herbert (1967) pp. 12-13 (Penguin edn).

- 4.9 The pervasiveness of these effects is still a matter of some debate: some of Rosenthal and Jacobson's experiments have been replicated with contrary findings. A further effect that can compound the self-fulfilling prophecy in schools is that teachers of 'low-ability' classes may also themselves be low-ability teachers, leading to a self-supporting cycle of low attainment.

5 Culture and dominance

The cultural framework

- 5.1 As Fantini and Weinstein point out, when society is partitioned into sub-cultures, and one of these becomes dominant (in terms of power and control of resources), it sets the standard against which the others are judged. In

¹My emphasis.

Britain and the United States (and other highly industrialized societies), this dominant subculture is typically middle-class (almost by definition). Thus, the school can be seen as reflecting the 'industrial ethic' embodying values such as those outlined earlier: competition, individuality, deferment of gratification, and achievement.

- 5.2 However, in its strict usage, 'culture' is not per se a term with value connotations. A culture consists of a shared set of beliefs and practices that order behaviour. It is a natural consequence of human groups adapting to their habitat, in an ongoing sense. The transmission of culture supposes a passing on of the form of adaptation to successive generations.
- 5.3 Indeed, it is within this framework that most anthropologists operate. One of the central requirements for anthropological study is a suspension, or subordination, of one's natural *ethnocentrism*: a tendency to view one's own culture as the best there is, and to evaluate other cultures against this yardstick. It may seem obvious to point out that in a culturally pluralistic society (such as ours can be seen to be), whether one belongs to the dominant subculture or not, subcultural membership allows one the access to that subculture's techniques for survival.

Subcultural differences

- 5.4 Add this to the fact of differing environments for different subcultures, and one reaches a position of various groups of people sharing different world-views and survival strategies. As Leon Eisenberg points out in his article, 'Strengths of the inner-city child' in Reader 1 (pp. 245-55), the impoverished urban child possesses survival skills which are at least as valuable as those of the middle-class child: the environment of the inner-city child is often dangerous, and threatening, the environment of the middle-class child is often contrastingly supportive and safe.
- 5.5 The main differences which Eisenberg points out between these children are pervasive psychological and familial traits, which reflect the differences in habitat of the two groups. In contrast to the individuality and competitive orientation of the middle-class child, the inner-city child is socialized into a 'them and us' culture which values co-operativeness and mutual aid. Similarly, they are not socialized into the need for achievement that is such a potent force in assisting the success of middle-class children in school.
- 5.6 Bernard C. Rosen (1959), reporting a series of subcultural studies in American cities, supports the view that *achievement motivation*, a psychological trait, is influenced by socialization into value-orientations and what he calls *educational-vocational aspiration levels*: a complex brought together under the concept of the *achievement syndrome*. He suggests that the two socialization processes that affect this syndrome are: (1) achievement training, in which parents value competence, and thus reward it, and also set high goals for their children; and (2) independence training, in which children are given responsibility for autonomous behaviour and rewarded for success. The major groups he studied - Protestants, Jews, Greeks, Negroes, Italians and French-Canadians - varied considerably on these dimensions, in consistent ways, but in addition, having studied social class differences, Rosen found this to be a further important factor:

Analysis of ethnographic and attitudinal and personality data suggests that these groups differed, and to some extent still differ, in their orientation towards achievement. The data show that the groups place different emphases upon independence and achievement training in the rearing of children. As a



Cultural diversity



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consequence, achievement motivation is more characteristic of Greeks, Jews, and white Protestants than of Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes. The data also indicate that Jews, Greeks and Protestants are more likely to possess achievement values and higher educational and vocational aspirations than Italians and French-Canadians. The values and educational aspirations of the Negroes are higher than expected, being comparable to those of Jews, Greeks and white Protestants, and higher than those of the Italians and French-Canadians. Vocational aspirations of Negroes, however, are the lowest of any group in the sample. Social class and ethnicity interact in influencing motivation, values, and aspirations; neither can predict an individual's score. Ethnic differences persist when social class is controlled, but some of the differences between ethnic groups in motivations, values, and aspirations are probably also a function of their class composition.

Rosen, Bernard C. (1959) quoted in Roberts, Joan I. (ed.) (1967) p. 346.

Towards cultural relativism

- 5.7 Underlying attempts to 'compensate' for the supposed deprivation or deficit of non-dominant subcultural groups is the dominant subculture's 'ethos', or set of standards for behaviour. Thus, part of the problems of schools with pupils from various non-dominant subcultures can be seen as being due to a rigid ethnocentrism. In anthropology, the antidote to ethnocentrism is *cultural relativism*; every culture has established an adaptation to its niche, and it is not for the anthropologist to do more than study the forms of adaptation. Any view of subcultural membership that sees its population as being in some way inferior to the dominant subculture will obscure the adaptive nature of the subordinate groups' folkways, values and language, and all other aspects of its culture. Certainly, there are differences between subcultures in our society, but for them to have persisted, they must in some way be functional for their members. When any institution fails to recognize this, the ground is laid for an increase in boundaries between groups, a decrease in meaningful communication and ultimately, cultural conflict. Again, the suggestion is that many of the failures in compensatory programmes, such as are outlined by A. Harry Passow in his paper, are basically problems of cultural conflict (see Supplementary Reading).
- 5.8 Of course, one's position vis-à-vis such problems depends very much on whether one views our present society as aiming for some form of cultural monism, or for cultural pluralism, in which our culture is made up, as it is now, of various subcultural groups. It is perhaps unfortunate that the majority of educational programmes are implicitly premised on a strong ethnocentric assumption that the values of middle-class culture are so worth having that the aim of education is to inject this system into every pupil. When this stance is taken with, say, a Ukrainian child in an English city, who comes from a strong subculture, the resultant psychological effects can be compared to the feelings expressed in the quotation that begins this part of the block. It is a moot question whether one can be simultaneously a member of two conflicting cultures.
- 5.9 One possibly widespread outcome of this conflict is described (by Fantini and Weinstein amongst others) as the child internalizing the ethnocentric teacher's view of him as being 'deficient', leading to a lowering of self-image, producing subsequent poor motivation and performance. This then reinforces the teacher's view of the child, and the cycle is free to repeat itself.

6 Language.

- 6.1 Those of you who have already taken the Open University course *Language and Learning* (E262), will have come across a good deal of material dealing with the problems of language differences between children. Block 3 of that course presents a review of Bernstein's seminal work on language codes, and in Block 8, the question of linguistic deprivation and disadvantage is studied in detail. The present discussion must necessarily deal with language in less depth, and those who wish to pursue this topic, and have not studied the above material, will find those two texts particularly useful.

Language deprivation?

- 6.2 Basically, the question of language has become associated with compensatory education, because of a view of the under-achieving child as being deficient in some way in language skills. Indeed, this is a simple and initially plausible theory as to why many such children are taciturn and generally appear to be inarticulate in the classroom. This view received considerable support from Bernstein's research in the 1950s and 1960s. For those of you who are not familiar with his work, he suggested firstly that there are two basic types, or codes, of language: restricted and elaborated. Secondly, he suggested that these codes are differentially available to working-class and middle-class children.
- 6.3 Speakers of restricted codes are postulated to have a language that typically has short sentences, extensive use of implicit meanings, and is suited mainly to social, interpersonal functions. It is contrasted with the elaborated code, which has longer sentences, elaborated and explicit meanings, and is suited to the exchange of information. Bernstein's theory stated that the middle-class child has access to *both* codes – switching from one to the other as the context requires, and that the working-class child has access only to restricted code, making him unable to perform well in school, where elaborated code is the more common style, expected by the institution and teachers.
- 6.4 As I have already said, this thesis was neat, and on the face of it, readily explained socio-economic differences in children's language behaviour in schools. Other educationists and psychologists have followed similar trends, notably the Gahagans in this country, and Marion Blank, and Bereiter and Englemann in the United States.

Or language difference?

- 6.5 In recent years, the debate on language has reopened. Part of the reason for this lies in the work of linguists such as Roger Brown and Noam Chomsky. The view of language they propose is a system of rules for generating utterances. In this framework, language learning is all about learning rules, and most children, whatever their background, learn the basic rules of their native language before school age. This particular view is supported by the studies of Labov (1970) and Houston (1973) working with black dialects in American cities. Their detailed linguistic analysis of the speech of black children has shown that these children speak a language that is very similar to white middle-class speech, but varies markedly in accent, and in some grammatical transformations that are not used in Standard English.
- 6.6 In addition, they found that the speech elicited from these children in a school situation was indeed sparse and simple, but that given more relaxed surroundings and good rapport between interviewer and child, more elaborate and

frequent speech occurred. Thus, their findings contradict part of Bernstein's thesis, that of two language codes, but tangentially support his view that language is context-dependent, and that the middle-class child has greater skill at matching language with context. The theoretical and empirical base of Bernstein's work has been criticized widely, most recently by Harold Rosen (1973), on the grounds that the two codes have never been adequately shown to exist as separate entities, and that linguistic theory in its present state of development provides no support for the existence of two codes.

Language in the classroom

- 6.7 Nevertheless, the facts of language in the classroom must be faced, and they are basically that, for whatever reasons, working-class and ethnic minority groups do pose language problems for the middle-class teacher: they bring to the classroom a language or language style that is at odds with the language of the teachers and of the books and other media used in the classroom. Part of this problem can be seen as based in the attitudes of some teachers: still adhering to deficit models, they believe that to speak a different language to their own makes a child in some way inferior. Add together the effects of this attitude and a language that differs in accent and certain structural features, and the net result will be a lack of acceptance of the child's language.
- 6.8 For all children, the language that they have on entering school (and most linguists would argue that their language at this age is basically complete) is the only one they possess, and teachers should at least meet the child halfway by recognizing the importance of understanding and accepting the child's language as not being in some way inferior or deficient. Once again, we return to the concept of culture. Besides mores, values and life-styles, a central and necessary condition of culture is the existence of a shared language. What is causing language problems in schools can with facility be described as a cultural conflict, and I would argue that an essential prerequisite of attempting any form of compensation is the acceptance of this fact in a framework of cultural relativism. Of course, the burden this places on the teacher is greater than in other approaches: not only is the child expected to learn the language of the school, but equally, the teacher would be expected to learn to appreciate the language(s) of his pupils.
- 6.9 The following extract from Lohman (1967) suggests the possible form that such an approach might take:

The middle-class teacher who becomes familiar with her students' subculture might be surprised to find many positive elements in it, some of which she might even desire to incorporate into her own values. But even if this is not the case the knowledge which she has gained will enable her to better understand her students and to develop ways of teaching which will complement their ways of operating.

It is the actual or implied criticism of his way of living, his home, his very being which so demoralizes the lower-class student, especially if he is from a minority group. One example which involves that essential element in education, communication, is the special language of the youth of the now most common urban subculture - partly Southern, partly Negro, partly lower class, and partly adolescent. It is a language far removed from that of the dominant middle class, and the common reaction to it in the schools is to despise it as ungrammatical and undesirable and to try and wipe it out if possible. To the student his language is an integral part of his culture, his very being, and an attack on it is much more than an attack on his conversation, it is an attack on

his own worth. Small wonder he so often reacts with sullenness, resentment and defiance.

Yet if the teacher really listens, she will hear that this language is soft, rhythmic, and pleasant to the ear, that it is extremely inventive and communicates in an effective and realistic fashion. On the other hand, it is not going to be acceptable on a job application form, or in an interview, or in any other situation where it will be necessary to deal with members of the dominant class in order to achieve some desired end. If the teacher can let the student know she appreciates the positive qualities in his language, he will be more disposed to see the need for using the dominant language pattern at times and more willing to learn it. Here again the analogy of the appropriate suit for the appropriate occasion holds.

Lohman, Joseph D. (1969) p. 6.

7 Where now?

- 7.1 So far, this part of the block has been critical of many of the concepts and suppositions of compensatory education. Facing the issue which still remains – the inequality of schooling which is manifest most strongly in urban schools – the question of direction reasserts itself. If the attempts to provide, through education, a measure of equality in 'life-chance' have not been uniformly successful because of an inadequate understanding of child development, given an improvement in this understanding, how can programmes better achieve their aims? As stated in the introduction to this part of the block, it depends on what one's aims are. Nevertheless, as things stand at present, middle-class culture is dominant, and equality for minority groups, equality of life-chance and participation in societal change, must depend on acquiring access to this culture. One can expound the strengths of minority cultures, but their subordinate position and diminished opportunities still remain society's responsibility.

A broad definition of education

- 7.2 As first discussed in Part 2 of this block, James S. Coleman, in his article 'How do the young become adults?' in Reader 1 (pp. 194–204), suggests that a change has occurred in human development: that children have become deprived of two main sources of education – the home and the workplace. His definition of education is wider than the school. At one time, Coleman suggests, schooling was only one facet of education. Outside school, the child learnt about work skills and habits, how to function in society, how to rear children and so on. In short, the child learnt through participation in settings which he would later enter as an adult. Because of changes in work and its location, and changes in time spent in family activities, both these areas of education have become progressively closed to the child, and it is as a result of this that education has come to parallel schooling. Coleman argues that this trend is capable of reversal, and that education in the natural habitat should be a conscious adjunct of schooling. He also suggests that it is in the work setting that racial and group integration is most easily realized, with co-operative and organized interpersonal relations.

Performance experience in other settings

- 7.3 Picking up the theory of behaviour settings, it seems appropriate to this thesis to argue again that the school as a setting teaches children little more than how to function *in school*. What is lacking is performance experience in other settings, and it is to experiments like Parkway and Metro that one can look for guidelines as to how this might be achieved.¹ While Coleman does not consider how family settings might fulfil a useful role in his broad conception of education, the article by Karnes *et al.*, 'An approach for working with mothers of disadvantaged preschool children' in Reader 1 (pp. 232-44) reports an experiment in which mothers were actively encouraged to modify the home environment towards providing their children with skills in the preschool period that would improve their later access to schooling. (This approach is also being used in the city of Mons in Belgium, as shown in Television Programme 2.)

8 Summary

- 8.1 First, this part of the block suggested that in analysing the need for compensatory education, it is necessary to be fully aware of the set of general aims for education that underlie decisions that particular groups of pupils are not doing as well in school and getting as much out of it as they might. These aims exert a powerful effect on the criteria that are chosen as critical measures for (1) the identification of the groups in need, and (2) the evaluation of attempts to compensate.
- 8.2 Second, in examining an array of evidence about the causes of various types of failure in the educational system, it has been pointed out that the causation is complex, involving far more than just class conflict between child and school, and extending outside the school into the child's home and 'life-space'.
- 8.3 Third, this part has been critical of the blanket application of the label 'deprived' to urban children who fail at school, and has suggested that a more balanced approach is to replace 'deficit' with more consideration of 'difference'. The basic change in approach was seen as being from an *ethnocentric* to a *cultural relativistic* viewpoint on the part of the teacher in an urban school. One of the dangers of rigid ethnocentrism was highlighted as being the tendency to prejudge, or stereotype, children, with the subsequent likelihood of this prejudgement becoming 'self-fulfilling'.
- 8.4 Finally, a rather different type of deprivation has been pointed to, arising for some urban children as a result of the history of urbanization and social change. It was suggested that for children in some areas of cities, the 'setting resource', that is, the range and variety of settings available, has become progressively lower, particularly in respect of workplace settings.
- 8.5 Thus, the main emphasis of this part of Block 3 has been on shifting the view of the 'urban problem pupil' away from *psychological deficit*, that is, problems located primarily within the child, to an *ecological deficit* in the urban environment. While the simplest answers, then, would seem to be towards *ecological intervention* rather than simply *educational intervention*, the aim of this part is primarily to raise new questions about the need for, and nature of, compensatory education.

¹See the article, 'The Parkway Program' in Reader 2 (pp. 189-203), for information on the Parkway experiment; and the notes for Television Programme 1, the correspondence text for Block 5, and Television Programme 8 for information on the Metro experiment.

Supplementary Reading Social deprivation and change in education: American action and reaction¹ — A. Harry Passow²

It is not easy to describe American efforts during the past dozen or so years aimed at improving the quality of education for all, with particular attention to those we call 'the disadvantaged'. The difficulties stem from the diversity of activities and programs, the ebb and flow of various efforts, the responses and resistances to legislative and judicial actions, the thrust of research and development programs, the intricate interrelationships of societal forces affecting education and a somewhat belated recognition that education is basically a political animal.

Major federal legislation

Several approaches might be taken in describing and analyzing the American experience. For example, one might focus on the major pieces of legislation enacted since the Kennedy/Johnson era when the 'war on poverty' was launched and the civil rights movement gathered impetus. Since the early 1960s, a number of important federal acts contained provisions for direct or indirect aid to those who are economically impoverished or discriminated against because of race or ethnic origins. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 was designed to strengthen and extend all aspects of vocational and technical education but gave particular attention to specific disadvantaged groups. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 included subsidies for schools planning and implementing desegregation, making provisions for training personnel and developing curriculum. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provided for a Job Corps, work-study programs, urban and rural community action programs, adult basic education, remedial programs, preschool and day care centers and teacher training. The 1965 revision of the National Defense Education Act shifted the emphasis of the original act to provide for greater attention to training teachers to work with the educationally disadvantaged, extend guidance and counseling services and use new media more effectively. The Higher Education Act of 1965 included provisions for teacher education for classroom and supervisory personnel in schools with disadvantaged pupils as well as financial assistance for poor students attending colleges and universities.

By far the most significant piece of legislation was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. In the preamble to the first section, Title I, the Congress declared it to be 'the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance . . . to local education agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low income families. . . .' Title I, ESEA, has provided more than one billion dollars annually for support of programs for the educationally disadvantaged. Other sections of ESEA applied to programs designed 'to contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of the educationally deprived children' although these special needs are never delineated. With each piece of federal legislation, guidelines are developed and published in the Federal Register wherein a framework is provided for schools and school systems to secure funding for programs which meet statutory requirements.

Major reports and studies

Another focus might be on a number of reports and studies produced in recent years which studied conditions and recommended policies affecting educational programs and school organization. For example, the so-called Coleman Report (*Equality of Educational Opportunity*) provided educators, politicians, social scientists and the general public with considerable grist for each of their mills and the findings are still being interpreted, reanalyzed and debated six years after it was issued in 1966. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 required the US Commissioner of Education to conduct

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² Jacob H. Schiff Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.

a survey and report to the President of the United States on the 'lack of availability of equal educational opportunities by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin. . .'. The massive report (737 pages plus a 548-page supplemental appendix) provided a bleak picture of widespread segregation of both students and teachers, of scholastic achievement of black students substantially below that of white students and of achievement disparities becoming progressively greater with each year of schooling. The differences anticipated in characteristics of majority-black and majority-white schools (such as per pupil expenditures, physical facilities, training of teachers in terms of years etc.) did not materialize and were not nearly as large as had been expected. In fact, regional differences were much larger than those between majority-black and majority-white schools within a region.

A conclusion reached in the report (Coleman, 1966) has proved to be especially controversial:

Taking all these results together, one implication stands above all: that schools bring little influence to bear upon a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context; and that this very lack of independent effect means that the inequalities imposed upon children by their home, neighborhood, and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of school. *For equality of educational opportunity through schools must imply a strong effect of schools that is independent of the child's social environment, and that strong independent effect is not present in American schools.* [Emphasis added.]

Coleman, James (1966) p. 325.

The study did indicate differences among ethnic groups in their apparent sensitivity to the effect of some school factors, such as the quality of teachers and the availability of enriched programs. One pupil attitude factor appeared to have a particularly strong relationship to achievement – this was the extent to which the individual pupil felt he had some control over his own destiny and could affect his own environment and future. This environmental-control factor seemed to be related to the racial balance in the school: the blacks in schools with a higher proportion of whites had a greater sense of control.

Building on the Coleman data, but studying fourteen large-city school systems in terms of their compensatory educational programs, the US Commission on Civil Rights (1967) issued a report titled *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* which examined the consequences of segregation on educational attainment. The Commission rejected 'years of school completed' as a valid measure of educational attainment because of an ever-widening gap between black and white students as they progress through school:

By the time the twelfth grade is reached, the average white student performs at or slightly below the twelfth-grade level, but the average Negro student performs below the ninth-grade level. Thus, years of school completed has an entirely different meaning for Negroes than whites. (p. 14)

Significantly, the Commission pointed to differences in educational achievement being accompanied by increasing social and economic gaps between blacks and whites with the significant gains for blacks in the past two decades not drastically altering the disparities. As the Commission observed: 'The closer the promise of equality seems to come, the further it slips away'. The Commission urged racial and socio-economic desegregation of schools, observing that: 'Regardless of his own family background, an individual student achieves better in schools where most of his fellows are from advantaged backgrounds than in schools where most of his fellow students are from disadvantaged backgrounds.'

The US Office of Education and individual researchers have continued to analyze the Coleman data. Guthrie (1970) sharpened the dilemma policy makers face when he pointed out that, since the Coleman Report was issued,

the belief has become increasingly pervasive that patterns of academic performance are immutably molded by social and economic conditions outside the school. If incorrect, and if allowed to persist unexamined and unchallenged, this belief could have wildly

disabling consequences. It is not at all difficult to foresee how it could become self-fulfilling; administrators and teachers believing that their school and schoolroom actions make no difference might begin to behave accordingly. Conversely, if the assertion is correct but allowed to pass unheeded, the prospect of pouring even more billions of local, State, and Federal dollars down an ineffective rathole labeled 'schools' is equally unsettling.

Guthrie, J. W. (1970) p. 23.

Under the direction of George Mayeske of the US Office of Education, major re-analyses of Coleman data have resulted in some tempering of the conclusions of the original report. For example, the influence of the school on achievement cannot be separated from that of the student's social background and vice versa. One report (Mayeske *et al.*, 1970, p. xiv) points out: 'In conclusion, it may be stated that schools are indeed important. It is equally clear, however, that their influence is bound up with that of the student's social background.' On the other hand, a series of re-examinations of the data reported in a book edited by Mosteller and Moynihan (1972) confirms most of the findings of the Coleman Report. One substudy suggests that neither upgrading the schools nor integrating them will close the achievement gap between blacks and whites unless the socio-economic gap is also closed.

Seeking the causes of civil disorders and riots which had occurred in 1968, the Kerner Commission (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968) pointed to the interactions of economic, political, educational, legal, health and welfare factors contributing to the urban crisis. The Commission commented on the 'bleak record of public education for ghetto children' and charged that rather than helping to overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation, such schools were a source of resentment and grievance in black communities. The Commission recommended (pp. 438-55) that four 'basic strategies' be pursued to reverse the existing trends and to move toward providing full equality of educational opportunity: (1) increase efforts to eliminate de facto segregation; (2) improve the quality of teaching in ghetto schools; (3) improve school-community relations; and (4) expand opportunities for higher and vocational education.

The Riles Commission (President's Task Force on Urban Education, 1970) issued a report which provided a comprehensive analysis of the state of urban education which was, 'by and large . . . far from pleasant'. As the report noted:

Urban education systems are facing a major challenge to provide appropriate learning experiences for the various life-styles of their vast numbers of students. The indicators of this challenge are extremely diverse in their intensity and scope: student unrest on university campuses and in the high schools, local community groups seeking control of their neighborhood schools, clashes with law enforcement agencies, complaints filed with regard to use of Federal funds, teacher strikes, voter rejection of large city school bond issues, the proliferation of alternative plans for educating students, lack of priority for education in State and local governments. (p. 5)

This challenge, the Riles Report observed, was part of another complex one: the perceptions of large numbers of members of racial and ethnic minority groups 'that they have been short-changed by their fellow American citizens - the white majority - who largely control the social, economic, political, and educational institutions of our nation'. The evidence, the Task Force concluded, largely supports these perceptions.

The Urban Education Task Force called for education 'broadly conceived and with new constituencies involved' to be given high priority both in short-and long-term planning. The report (pp. 6-7) called for:

- 1 Significantly increased levels of funding from the federal government.
- 2 Expansion of the concept of the educative process to deal with the whole individual - 'his health, his emotional well-being, his intellectual capacities, his future employment, his self-realization . . .'

- 3 Development and implementation of master plans for education which deal with causes and symptoms 'within a framework of overall urban problem solving rather than education per se ...'
- 4 Deliberate sequencing of plans leading to institutional changes within the system itself.
- 5 Active participation by community residents and students in the decision-making process, including priorities for using funds, designing curriculum and program components, hiring and dismissing personnel.
- 6 Setting specific performance standards which can serve for personnel and school accountability.
- 7 Continuous assessment of all aspects of the educational program enabling immediate adjustments and modifications.
- 8 Racial and ethnic integration.

Finally, the President's Commission on School Finance called for the states to take over the major burden of supporting the public schools. The Commission's recommendations were made hard on the heels of a number of federal and state court decisions which struck down the local property tax as the prime means of supporting schools. The courts ruled that such a tax denied individuals equal protection under the law – the quality of education being determined by the wealth of the district, rather than the equal allocation of resources. It has been argued that 'there is no simple identity between dollars allocated among school districts and the equality of resources delivered to their students', but it is clear that compensatory and innovative efforts require more funding than has been available.

Major 'theories' or explanations of disadvantage

A third focus might be on the hypotheses or theoretical bases or explanations – implicit or explicit – which have been advanced to account for the problems of the disadvantaged and which underly various strategies for intervention in the home, school and community. In the early 1960s, the controversy centred on 'social deprivation versus educational deprivation'. Those who sided with the social or environmental deprivation explanation argued that early experiential limitations, child-rearing practices that result in limited language and intellectual development as well as socializing experiences different from those of the middle class, exposure to discriminatory practices which lower self-concepts, account for the disadvantaged child's poor scholastic performance. Those who sided with the educational deprivation explanation argued that it was the prejudice and racism of school staffs, irrelevant curriculum and inappropriate instructional resources, and insulation of school from community which accounted for the difficulties of pupils. These two oversimplified explanations are still used and continue to guide development and implementation of various programs. Other explanations have been added.

In a highly controversial article which seemed to revive the presumably dormant heredity-versus-environment debate, Jensen (1969) suggested that genetic racial differences might account for developmental differentials and that these should be reflected in teaching practices and instructional programs. Elsewhere, Jensen (1968) has written:

Data that would permit firm conclusions about the genetic basis of differences among ethnic groups in measured intelligence do not yet exist. The question, however, is worthy of rigorous scientific research. It is unfortunate that so much of the past Negro-white differences, for example, has done so little to delineate either the genetic or environmental sources of these differences. . . . To fail to recognize the biological basis of human differences in psychological characteristics is to limit understanding to only half the reality.

Jensen, A. R. (1968) pp. 9-10.

The debate which the Jensen article provoked quickly resulted in coining of the term *Jensenism* which was a synonym for racism, and did little to promote much that could be called 'rigorous scientific research'. An article published by the same journal earlier consisted of a report on a study by Stodolsky and Lesser (1967) which demonstrated that particular patterns of cognitive abilities seem to be more or less highly developed in particular ethnic and racial groups, regardless of social class. Stodolsky and Lesser (1967) suggest that instructional programs should take into account these different patterns of strengths and weaknesses among ethnic groups.

Teacher biases and a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' phenomenon have been advanced to explain the poor scholastic performance of disadvantaged children. Publication of the Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) study, *Pygmalion in the Classroom*, provided some support to relationship between teacher expectation and pupil performance. Clark (1965) summed up this position some time ago as follows:

The evidence so far very strongly suggests that these children will learn if they are taught and they will not learn if they are approached as if they cannot learn . . . if children, poor children or Negro children or immigrant children are taught, accepted, respected and approached as if they are human beings, the average performance of these children may approach, and eventually reach the norm performance of other human beings who are so taught.

Clark, K. B. (1965) pp. 11-12.

This charge of poor performance as a function of low teacher expectation has manifested itself in the more serious accusation by some racial and ethnic minority groups that schools in ghetto areas are practicing what they describe as 'educational genocide'. Such groups are demanding, as part of a move toward community control, that they be permitted to hire and fire teachers in order to create a staff which will perform in ways consistent with 'community needs and goals'.

Another explanation for poor performance by disadvantaged pupils is found in school organization, both intraschool and interschool. The argument is made that grouping, streaming and tracking are means for making respectable the procedures whereby pupils from lower classes, racial and ethnic minority groups are assigned to programs which provide them with a qualitatively inferior educational experience. Within so-called comprehensive schools, different curricula or programs or 'tracks' are found. Racial and ethnic minority group students and those from lower socioeconomic classes are found in disproportionate numbers in the non-academic, non-collegiate, terminal courses. Thus, rather than facilitating social mobility, schools are accused of exercising a sorting-out process which discriminates against the disadvantaged. The fact that so relatively few disadvantaged youth go on to post-secondary education is blamed, in part, on the gatekeeping operation of secondary school staffs.

Still another explanation of poor scholastic performance of disadvantaged children is advanced in terms of the discrepancies in motivation and values between the home and the school. Bronfenbrenner (1969), for example, asserts:

It is now recognized that the problem of the disadvantaged child cannot be viewed solely in terms of impaired intellectual functioning. Such a child has been deprived not only of cognitive socialization but of socialization across the board. Thus he has been prevented from developing not only the intellectual skills but also the motivational characteristics and patterns of behavior that permit successful and satisfying participation in the larger society.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie (1969) p. 1.

Baratz and Baratz (1970), on the other hand, assert 'that the behavior of Negroes is not pathological but can be explained within a coherent, distinct, American-Negro culture which represents a synthesis of African culture in contact with American European culture from the time of slavery to the present day'. Thus, cultural and value differences result in the view that many of the demands of the school are perceived as irrelevant and meaningless. Differences in what is valued by the Puerto

Rican, Chicano (Mexican-American), American Indian, Appalachian white, and other subcultures from those of the dominant white middle-class majority often result in value conflicts which may result in the disadvantaged child perceiving his own culture as inferior. Those who support this view argue for the school changing its processes and materials to cultivate cultural pluralism. Some minority groups urge schools to undertake responsibility for 'building nationhood' - pride in self, in race and ethnic group - as a high priority, even the highest.

Yet another explanation of scholastic performance of disadvantaged children is found in racially and/or socio-economically segregated schools. The 1954 Supreme Court decision declared that separated facilities were inherently unequal and the de jure segregation was unconstitutional. The Coleman Report indicates that black students achieve better in integrated schools than in segregated ones and that students from low-income families do better in schools which are predominantly middle income than they do in schools which are mainly low income. Fischer has written of the 'unfortunate psychological effect upon a child of membership in a school where every pupil knows that, regardless of his personal attainments, the group with which he is identified is viewed as less able, less successful, and less acceptable than the majority of the community'.

The US Commission on Civil Rights (1967) sees the environment of segregated schools as offering serious obstacles to learning:

The schools are stigmatized as inferior in the community. The students often doubt their own worth, and their teachers frequently corroborate those doubts. The academic performance of their classmates is usually characterized by continuing difficulty. The children often have doubts about their chances of succeeding in a predominantly white society and they typically are in school with other students who have similar doubts. They are in schools which, by virtue both of their racial and social class composition, are isolated from models of success in school. (p. 106)

It has been argued that quality education is not possible in a racially isolated school - whether segregated white or black - for, in addition to cognitive and academic skills, there are affective behaviors and attitudes whose growth is influenced by the environment of the school. As Pinderhughes has observed (US Commission on Civil Rights, 1967, p. 82), pupils learn as much from one another as they do from their teachers. This he calls the hidden curriculum: 'It involves such things as how to think about themselves, how to think about other people, and how to get along with them. It involves such things as values, codes, and styles of behaviour. . . . ' What constitutes a racially isolated school has been pretty well established; what constitutes a racially balanced school is not quite as clear. There is agreement on what is involved in desegregation and procedures for attaining it; it is now recognized that desegregation is only a first step toward integration.

The poor academic performance of disadvantaged pupils has been explained by the uneven distribution of available resources. The severe disparities in fiscal resources available to cities as compared to suburban school systems is paralleled by the discrepancies found within large city school systems. Slum and ghetto area schools tend to be the oldest, most dilapidated and most inadequate with respect to educational amenities. Classes are often overcrowded. Instructional materials are meager, of poor quality and inappropriate for the population served. There is some question as to whether equal quality education would result from equal per pupil expenditures - because of the special educational needs of disadvantaged pupils, more than equal expenditures are needed. Title I, ESEA, aimed at additional expenditures for low-income pupils, but the amounts were relatively small in terms of the total expenditures so that the issue of whether increased expenditures will improve scholastic performance has not been resolved.

Finally, it has been argued that disadvantage results from the lack of power of minority groups over the institutions and agencies which affect them. Lacking power, community groups have been unable to establish accountability on the part of school personnel with respect to their performance. This sense of powerlessness or

lack of sense of control is transmitted to students in schools and affects their self-image. Only by acquiring control, it is maintained, can parents and other members of the community help shape curriculum, select instructional materials and insist on high standards of teacher performance.

Thus there are a variety of 'theories' or explanations advanced to explain the inferior scholastic attainment of disadvantaged pupils and one or more of them can be used to provide a rationale for the various intervention programs or treatments. Miller and Roby (1972), for example, propose that strategies for improving educational performance of poor and minority group children can be subsumed in five categories: (1) *changing the student and his family* - aiming at 'compensatory socialization' dealing with the environmental deficiencies in low-income family life; (2) *changing the school* - aiming at bringing about changes in the staff, curriculum, materials, organization and services, rather than focusing on the learner and his family; (3) *increasing resources and changing their distribution* - raising the level of educational expenditure, making distribution more equitable, and providing a necessary differential for the disadvantaged; (4) *changing the student composition* - providing for greater socio-economic and racial balance; and (5) *changing the control of the schools* - providing for greater community involvement in decision making and control of school programs and processes.

Patterns of programs and projects for the disadvantaged

Yet another focus might be on the patterns of programs and projects aimed at improving educational opportunities and performance of the disadvantaged. Programs can be characterized in a variety of ways - depending on target population, nature of intervention or intent. Some programs are innovative in the sense of attempting to reform some aspect of the educational system or create new conditions for delivery of educational services or suggest new goals. A good many programs, however, represent the pouring of 'old wine into new bottles'. It is possible to fit a good many of the thousands of current programs and projects into one or more of the following patterns:¹

- 1 *Infant education and intervention in family life* various efforts aimed at changing child-rearing relationships between parent (usually the mother) and the infant, often involving the mother as a direct teacher.
- 2 *Early childhood education* preschool programs ranging from traditional nursery and kindergarten practices through highly structured, academic oriented programs designed to develop specific skills for learning; largest number of such programs under the Head Start canopy.
- 3 *Reading, language and basic skills development* new curricula, methodologies, materials, personnel deployment and 'systems' designed to improve the reading and basic skills performance of disadvantaged children.
- 4 *Bilingual education* programs designed for pupils whose mother tongue is other than English or whose dialect and speech are so divergent as to be considered 'non-standard'; instruction in the mother tongue and teaching of English as a second language.
- 5 *Curriculum relevance* modifications of existing courses and introduction of new courses which have a more direct relationship 'to the world the student knows outside school or to the roles he plays now or will later play in his adult life' (Fantini and Young, 1970, p. 50); addition of programs dealing with racial and ethnic minority group experiences and heritage; introduction of courses dealing with significant current social, political, economic and personal problems.
- 6 *Compensatory and remedial programs* programs aimed at presumed or real deficiencies in disadvantaged learners; remedial activities designed to overcome poor performance in basic areas; cultural enrichment programs aimed at broadening horizons of inner-city pupils.

¹From Panow (1970), pp. 38-9.

- 7 *Guidance and counseling* guidance, psychological and therapeutic services adapted to the needs of disadvantaged pupils and their parents; addition of social workers and community agents to bridge gap between school and family.
- 8 *Tutoring programs* individual and small group tutoring by professionals, para-professionals and volunteers, adults and youth, based in school or non-school agency or institution.
- 9 *Testing, measurement and evaluation* efforts made to develop more effective diagnostic and evaluative procedures which serve instructional rather than selective functions; reappraisal of grouping and tracking procedures; development of more appropriate grading procedures; sensitization of staff members to the consequences of expectations from grading and testing procedures.
- 10 *School organization* extended school days, extended school years, year-round schools, team teaching, ungraded programs, open classrooms, modular scheduling, flexible grouping to replace rigid tracking systems.
- 11 *Instructional materials and resources* production of new multi-media instructional resources aimed at central city students; increase in the availability of multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-social class, multi-level, urban-oriented materials; development of resources dealing with the racial and ethnic experience in America.
- 12 *Vocational education, dropout prevention and return programs* compensatory and remedial programs, additional counseling and guidance, addition of social and community workers, vocational preparation in and out of school, work experience, work-study programs and revised vocational/technical programs specifically designed for the sixteen-to-twenty-one-year-old group.
- 13 *Urban school staffing* programs aimed at recruitment, training, induction, retention and continuing education of all professional personnel at pre- and in-service levels; development of new relationships and programs between colleges and school systems, between industries and schools; attention to attitudes and expectations; new staffing patterns; addition of various kinds of 'specialists' in schools.
- 14 *Auxiliary school personnel* programs aimed at recruiting, training and involving paraprofessionals, volunteers and aides in a variety of educational and supportive services; building of new careers and career ladders in the realm of public service; involvement of parents and volunteers in teaching programs.
- 15 *Post-secondary and higher education* high school programs aimed at motivating and preparing disadvantaged youth for college; development of new selection and admission procedures; provision of services to smooth transition from school to college and increase success chances; modification of college curriculum to increase relevance for minority groups; expanding opportunities for higher education through new institutions.
- 16 *Community school and community development* development of schools as educational, neighborhood, community services and community development centers; programs involving joint school and community agencies in attacking urban problems.
- 17 *Desegregation and integration* programs designed to correct racial and ethnic imbalance, de jure and de facto, and to provide for a more integrated, pluralistic school society; counter-drive for separatism and for local control of schools, sometimes as end and sometimes as an interim step toward pluralism.
- 18 *Decentralization and community control* programs designed to bring decision making closer to the community and redistribute power and control; efforts to establish accountability for effectiveness of teaching and schools.
- 19 *Alternative schools and school systems* proposals for establishing competitive systems, private and public; provisions for 'education by voucher'; establishment of alternative schools within public and non-public sectors; initiation of performance contracts with non-public school companies and agencies.

- 20 *Federally supported or assisted programs* programs authorized by federal legislation, such as Elementary and Secondary Education Act (particularly Titles I and III) and programs such as Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Upward Bound, National Teacher Corps, Head Start, Manpower Development and Training Programs; various programs of categorical aid and assistance with desegregation.
- 21 *Allocation of educational resources* efforts through court litigation and pressures for new legislation to correct intra-state and intradistrict inequalities in allocation of educational resources; substantial additional funding for some ghetto schools (e.g. More Effective Schools program).

Dilemmas and constraints

A dozen years of effort designed to provide equality of educational opportunity for all in the United States have not produced the hoped-for results. Pessimistically one might view the situation as follows (Passow, 1970):

having spent billions of dollars on compensatory education, initiated thousands of projects (each with its own clever acronym title), completed thousands of studies of uneven significance and even more disparate quality, entered numerous judicial decisions and rulings, experienced dozens of riots and disorders, and generated whole new agencies and educational institutions, the nation's urban schools continue to operate in a vortex of segregation, alienation and declining achievement. (p.88)

Evaluations of large-scale, national projects have not generally produced positive results. A study conducted for the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children (1969) found some twenty-one programs – screened from 1000 of the more than 20,000 Title I ESEA projects – which had produced 'significant achievement gains in language and numerical skills'. The Westinghouse-Ohio University National Evaluation of Head Start programs (Smith and Bissell, 1970) reported rather minimal or no improvements with Head Start children still below normal on achievement and psycholinguistic tests but approaching norms on readiness tests. A report by the Office of Economic Opportunity (1972) indicated that the widely heralded Performance Contracting Program had not produced significant gains for the disadvantaged: 'Both control and experimental students did equally poorly in terms of achievement gains, and this result was remarkably consistent across sites and among children with different degrees of initial capability'. In almost every instance when such evaluative or research reports are released, they are immediately attacked on the basis of the research design, the adequacy of sampling, the instrumentation, the length of time of the treatment or the timing of the report – as related to some political event or pending Congressional or Presidential action. Programs have been initiated, have seemed to be working, have spread to large numbers of school systems and then have been dropped. The widely publicized Higher Horizons Program is a good example of this situation. Higher Horizons became a prototype for programs for the disadvantaged in cities across the country. An evaluation of the 'model' New York City project found that the results did not indicate a significant difference – for a variety of understandable reasons – and the program was phased out of the schools at the same time it was being started in other cities.

Why, then, has there not been more progress in upgrading the educational opportunities for the disadvantaged? One might speculate that all or some of the following reasons might explain why.

- 1 Most programs consist of isolated piecemeal projects, intended to increase the schools' effectiveness in attaining traditional objectives – at a minimum, the attainment of basic literacy. Few programs are comprehensive, aimed at fundamental educational reforms, or designed to use educational resources in substantively different ways. As the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children (1969) observed:

It has long been clear that the mere addition of people, equipment, and special services does not by itself constitute compensatory education; success in making up for the educational deprivation which stems from poverty requires a strategy for blending these resources in an integrated program that strikes at both roots and consequences of disadvantage. The details of this strategy, however, have by no means been clear. (p. 3)

The strategy of 'try harder' which has been adopted by many projects has simply not been good enough.

- 2 There is little evidence that program planners are designing projects using a research base. There is a rich and mushrooming body of literature on cognitive and affective developmental differences among various racial, ethnic, and socio-economic groups; on family structure, life-styles and child-rearing patterns as these affect learning; on schooling as socialization; on language development and linguistic differences. Guidelines issued for development of proposals for federal and state funding are just beginning to direct planners to indicate the rationale for the design and the diagnostic basis for the proposal. Too many projects represent a reinvention of the wheel – but a square one at that.
- 3 Programs for the disadvantaged tend to follow the dollar. The major source of funding for the disadvantaged is federal and state legislation. Policies guiding the development and enactment of legislation are, of course, based on politics and political maneuvers, subject to the compromises needed for enactment as much or more than educational considerations.¹ Legislation must satisfy and serve a variety of constituent communities. Despite the broadening of the base in recent years, political power still resides in the white-majority middle class and legislation benefiting the disadvantaged has difficulty not being compromised to death.
- 4 Political considerations can result in a complete shift of policy and funding support. This point is clearly illustrated with the current controversy over what is called 'forced busing'. In effect, eighteen years of progress towards desegregation is in jeopardy by President Nixon's politically expedient proposal for a moratorium on all new busing orders by federal courts until July 1973. As the President said, 'This is a deeply emotional divisive issue' – which he has made even more emotional and divisive for clearly partisan political purposes. The President proposed in his Equal Educational Opportunities Act that money for disadvantaged children be increased and targeted to reach a critical mass of \$300-\$400 per child. Thus, school desegregation is being halted (where busing is involved) in favor of compensatory education, with no new money actually being proposed. As *The New York Times* (1972) put it: 'It is a drive that pushes the political bandwagons of both parties off the road toward an integrated society. The "separate but equal" doctrine has been revived under the polite cover of upgrading segregated schools.' Aside from the constitutional crisis which will result from the President and the Congress attempting to curb the courts, this political act could lead to desegregation retrenchment throughout the country. Further, educational policies are being formulated by the courts in areas affecting the disadvantaged – e.g. desegregation and allocation of resources – which educators are called upon to implement.
- 5 Minority groups have taken seriously the notion of building a power base and cultural identification as the means of achieving equality. Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and American Indians have moved toward separatism, local control, and a recognized identity which appears to be counter to moves for integration and cultural pluralism. Generally, schools have not known how to respond to these demands without becoming defensive or evasive. Token adjustments in curriculum, program and staffing have satisfied neither minorities nor the majority. The President's Task Force on Urban Education (1970) suggests that these thrusts are not antithetical to the aims of integration but rather:

¹See, for example, Eidenberg and Morey (1969) and Bailey and Mosher (1968).

This emergent – and newest – thrust seems to hold potentially the greatest promise to achieving genuine integration since it concomitantly recognizes common goals (e.g. economic self-sufficiency, a healthful environment, improved educational programs) and proposes to work co-operatively on the ways to achieve them. (p. 7)

- 6 Poverty, racism and discrimination have very deep roots in American society and educational problems are entwined with other problems of that society. The so-called 'forced busing' issue, for instance, is a phony one: when busing of black children to segregated schools was the mode, busing was not forced; only when both white and black children were to be bused to desegregate schools did it become an issue. De facto segregation is a consequence of housing patterns; an integrated society would have integrated housing and, consequently, integrated schools. An attack on 'the roots and consequences of disadvantage' would involve a co-ordination of efforts in education, housing, employment, health, welfare and security rather than the current approaches which are often counterproductive. It has been argued by some minority groups that white American society is really not concerned with righting the wrongs of the past or with providing for full and equal opportunities in all aspects of that society, but only with maintaining itself. The charge of 'institutional racism' is one that cannot be dismissed simply as militant rhetoric but needs to be confronted and dealt with as it applies to the school.
- 7 'Equality of educational opportunity' and 'quality education' are well-worn phrases in American education. The present crisis has forced educators and the public to begin to probe more deeply into the meanings of these expressions. Equality or inequality involves numerous school and community inputs, processes and outcomes. The various theories or explanations of disadvantage are, in reality, only partial or complementary. In trying to explain failures in educating the disadvantaged, we have too often sought to place blame or have fixed on single 'causes' rather than attempt to understand how many factors interact in the educational processes to affect the outcomes. Thus, more money, better-trained personnel, elimination of slums, desegregation and three dozen other 'solutions' are proposed, each as a panacea. When programs seem to work, we have not examined them adequately to understand what elements are contributing to such functioning.

The focus on education of the disadvantaged has caused thoughtful educators to begin to rethink the whole educational process – the goals, the means, the personnel and material resources, the environment, the strategies and the relationships. Clearly, education is not limited to the school and the classroom. The home, the school and the community provide educative functions which relate, interact and reinforce or constrict one another. Reform in education – triggered by the failure of the schools to provide adequately for the disadvantaged and thus fail to provide for meaningful educational opportunities – will not come easily. Schools, like other societal institutions, have their vested interests, with constant struggles for power and prerogatives.

There are those who argue that society must cure itself of all the problems and pathologies which exist in depressed areas before the schools will be able to provide adequately for the disadvantaged minority group children. There are others who argue that the school is the one agency that exists in all neighborhoods which could serve as a catalytic agent to mobilize other forces against poverty, segregation and alienation. The past dozen years have forced educators to re-examine the meaning of equality of educational opportunity and the means by which that goal is to be attained. In doing so, there is little doubt that all children and youth have profited from this soul searching. It has been and is still a trying time but one from which all may yet profit. In trying to understand the meaning of disadvantage, we have probed more deeply into how we should be educating all children, youth and adults. This is why one can continue to have some optimism.

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*indicates that the book contains material suitable for use in the classroom.

Glossary for Block 3

This glossary is provided in the hope that it may help students in their reading of the correspondence text. It does not aim to provide authoritative definitions of the terms; rather, it tries to give an explanation of what they mean in the context. A number of educational terms have been defined to help those students who are not teachers and who may not be entirely familiar with some of the terms, abbreviations and references in the course. Words appearing in capitals in a definition have their own separate entries.

Ascription: The assigning of a description to an object, as in ascribing the colour red to a cherry.

Bilateral schools: A system used in some of the schools in Nottingham whereby each year is divided into ability bands: the upper bands being 'grammar' streams; the middle corresponding to 'secondary modern' streams; and the lower being remedial groups.

Cognitive studies: Research concerned with the psychology of the acquisition of knowledge.

Covariation: When two variables such as height and weight are correlated, but no causality is inferred. (See entry under CORRELATION in the Statistics Glossary in Block 2.)

Contingent stimulation: A pattern of interaction in which the stimuli to an individual are dependent on specific behaviours by that individual.

Cultural monism: Single, consensual cultural model of society. (Contrast with CULTURAL PLURALISM in the Glossary for Block 1.)

Cybernetics: The study of systems of control and communication.

Dyad: Two-person group.

ESP phenomena: Phenomena explained by reference to 'extra-sensory' mechanism such as telepathy, telekinesis etc.

Homeostasis: The ability of a system to respond to external perturbations in such a way as to maintain its normal mode of functioning.

Ideology: Framework of 'ideas'; beliefs about the world.

Interface: The point(s) at which two or more systems meet and interact.

Intrapersonal: Within the individual.

Interpersonal: Between individuals.

Nosological scheme: A system for the classification of diseases.

Nuclear family: Father, mother and children. (Contrast with EXTENDED FAMILY in the Glossary for Block 2.)

Psychodynamics: Psychological processes of the individual, as opposed to psychological characteristics.

(Schedule of) reinforcement: The way in which reinforcement is matched to behaviour, e.g. a fixed ratio schedule reinforces every nth action.

Sensorimotor abilities: Skills that involve the linked use of the senses and the muscles, e.g. picking up a pencil.

Setting genotypes: Distinct categories of settings, e.g. classroom, auction sale. See the list of genotypes, paragraph 4.42, pp. 57-8.

Settings multiplex: A multiple set of settings contained within a boundary, for example, a shopping centre, office block.

Social education: The teaching of social skills, as opposed to physical skills or knowledge.

Threshold cues: Information perceived subconsciously, around threshold level, e.g. minute facial and body movements.

Urban pathology: The linking of forms of maladaptation, such as suicide and crime, to supposed causative aspects of the urban environment.

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Urban Education

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